

ANARCHY 20p 50c



CONSTITUTION OF

NO AUTHORITY

The proceedings of those robbers and murderers, who call themselves "the government," are directly the opposite of those of the single highwayman.

In the first place, they do not, like him, make themselves individually known; or, consequently, take upon themselves personally the responsibility of their acts. On the contrary, they secretly (by secret ballot) designate some one of their number to commit the robbery in their behalf, while they keep themselves practically concealed.

Not knowing who the particular individuals are, who call themselves "the government," the taxpayer does not know whom he pays taxes to. All he knows is that a man comes to him, representing himself to be the agent of "the government" -- that is, the agent of a secret band of robbers and murderers, who have taken to themselves the title of "the government," and have determined to kill everybody who refuses to give them whatever money they demand.... All political power, as it is called, rests practically upon this matter of money. Any number of scoundrels, having money enough to start with, can establish themselves as a "government"; because, with money, they can hire soldiers, and with soldiers extort more money; and also compel general obedience to their will.

WHOEVER DESIRES LIBERTY, SHOULD UNDERSTAND THESE VITAL FACTS, VIZ.:

1. That every man who puts money into the hands of a "government," puts into its hands a sword which will be used against himself, to extort more money from him, and also to keep him in subjection to its arbitrary will.
2. That those who will take his money, without his consent, in the first place, will use it for further robbery and enslavement, if he presumes to resist their demands in the future.
3. That it is a perfect absurdity to suppose that any body of men would ever take a man's money without his consent, for any such object as they profess to take it for, viz., that of protecting him; for why should they wish to protect him, if he does not wish them to do so?
4. If a man wants "protection," he is competent to make his own bargains for it; and nobody has any occasion to rob him, in order to "protect" him against his will.
5. That the only security men can have for their political liberty, consists in their keeping their money in their own pockets, until they have assurances, perfectly satisfactory to themselves, that it will be used as they wish it to be used, for their benefit, and not for their injury.
6. That no "government" can reasonably be trusted for a moment, or reasonably supposed to have honest purposes in view....

SELECTIONS
FROM THE

by: LYSANDER SPOONER (1808 - 1898)
(American Individualist-Anarchist)



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The material for this issue was gathered by FRIENDS OF MALATESTA, Box 72, Bidwell Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14222, USA. A list of literature available from FRIENDS can be obtained by writing to us. This issue was not planned so as to represent the opinions of FRIENDS, but so as to represent some of the opinions of some of our members and contacts, and to present some relatively little known historical material. Be critical, and let us know about your criticisms and other reactions to this issue. Steve Halbrook is a local contact for the North American Libertarian Alliance. N.A.L.A. publishes SUNBURST (P.O. Box 3684, Tucson, Arizona, 85720 USA).

The pamphlet, ANTIMASS, is available for 50c from Antimass, P.O. Box 7411, New Haven, Conn. 06519 USA.

Rawihokwats is an editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. "Sitting Bull in Canada" originally appeared in NOTES which is a monthly 48-page tabloid on North and South American Indian matters available on request from: Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelt, N.Y. 13685 USA.

In a letter to FRIENDS, Rawihokwats says: "You might also wish to add some comment to the effect that, 'Many treaties were made in the name of the Queen by Great Britain which were assumed by Canada under the British North America Act. However, the Canadian Government has not honoured them, and the British Government simply refers inquiries and petitions back to Canada.' Since the issue will have good British readership, they might appreciate knowing that the honour of the Empire is not intact, although I suspect Anarchy people already know that."

ANARCHY Magazine, 95 West Green Road, London N15, England.
Printed by Brunswick Design, London, and Express Printers, London.





selections from:
the
anti-mass

The pamphlet *Anti-Mass*, from which these selections have been taken, is mainly about collectives and we intend to reprint it in full in a future issue of *Anarchy*. Other contributions on collectives would be welcomed. Please send them to us by June 1st.

1. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MASS AND CLASS

Why is it important to know the difference between mass and class? The chances are there can be no conscious revolutionary practice without making this distinction. We are not playing around with words. Look. We are all living in a mass society. We didn't get that way by accident. The mass is a specific form of social organization. The reason is clear. Consumption is organized by the corporations. Their products define the mass. The mass is not a cliché - the "masses" - but a routine which dominates your daily life. Understanding the structure of the mass market is the first step toward understanding what happened to the class struggle.

What is the mass? Most people think of the mass in terms of numbers - like a crowded street or a football stadium. But it is actually structure which determines its character. The mass is an aggregate of couples who are separate, detached and anonymous. They live in cities, physically close yet socially apart. Their lives are privatized and depraved, Coca-Cola and Israelized. The social existence of the mass - its rules and regulations, the structuring of its status roles and leadership - are organized through consumption (the mass market). They are all products of a specific social organization. Ours.

Of course, no one sees themselves as part of the mass. It's always others who are the masses. The trouble is that it is not only the corporations which organize us into the mass. The "movement" itself behaves as a mass and its organizers reproduce the hierarchy of the mass.

Really, how do you fight fire? With water, of course. The same goes for revolution. We don't fight the mass (market) with a mass (movement). We fight mass with class. Our aim should not be to create a mass movement but a class force.

What is a class? A class is a consciously organized social force. For example, the ruling class is conscious and acts collectively to organize not

only itself but also the people (mass) that it rules. The corporation is the self-conscious collective power of the ruling class. We are not saying that class relations do not exist in the rest of society. But they remain passive so long as they are shaped simply by objective conditions (i.e. work situations). What is necessary is the active (subjective) participation of the class itself. Class prejudice is not class consciousness. The class is conscious of its social existence because it seeks to organize itself. The mass is unconscious of its social existence because it is organized by Coca-Cola and IBM.

The moral of the story is: the mass is a mass because it is organized as a mass. Don't be fooled by the brand name. Mass is thinking with your ass.

9. SELF-ACTIVITY

Bad work habits and sloppy behaviour undermine any attempt to construct collectively. Casual, sloppy behaviour means that we don't care deeply about what we are doing or who we are doing it with. This may come as a surprise to a lot of people. The fact remains: we talk revolution but act reactionary at elementary levels. There are two basic things underlying these unfortunate circumstances: 1) people's idea of how something (like revolution) will happen shapes their work habits; 2) their class background gives them a casual view of politics.

There is no doubt that the Pepsi generation is more politically alive. But this new energy is being channelled by organizers into boring meetings which reproduce the hierarchy of class society. After awhile, critical thinking is eroded and people lose their curiosity. Meetings become a routine like everything else in life.

A lot of problems which collectives will have can be traced to the work habits acquired in the (mass) movement. People perpetuate the passive roles they have become accustomed to in large

meetings. The emphasis on mass participation means that all you have to do is show up. Rarely, do people prepare themselves for a meeting, nor do they feel the need to. Often this situation does not become evident precisely because the few people who do work (those who run the meeting) create the illusion of group achievement.

Because people see themselves essentially as objects and not as subjects, political activity is defined as an event outside them and in the future. No one sees themselves making the revolution and therefore, they don't understand how it will be accomplished.

The short span of attention is one tell-tale symptom of instant politics. The emphasis on responding to crisis seems to contract the span of attention - in fact there is often no time dimension at all. This timelessness is experienced as the synecopation of overcommitment. Many people say they will do things without really thinking out carefully whether they have the time to do them. Having time ultimately means defining what you really want to do. Over-commitment is when you want to do everything but end up doing nothing.

The numerous other symptoms of casual politics - lack of preparation, being late, getting bored at difficult moments, etc., are all signs of a political attitude which is destructive to the collective. The important thing is recognizing the existence of these problems and knowing what causes them. They are not personal problems but historically determined attitudes.

Many people confuse the revolt against alienated labour in its specific historical form with work activity itself. This revolt is expressed in an anti-work attitude.

Attitudes toward work are shaped by our relations to production i.e. class. Class is a product of hierarchic divisions of labour (including forms other than wage labour). There are three basic relations which can produce anti-work attitudes. The working class expresses its anti-work attitude as a rebellion against routinized labour. For the middle class, the anti-work attitude comes out of the ideology of consumer society and revolves around leisure. The stereotype of the "lazy native" or "physically weak woman" is a third anti-work attitude which is applied to those who are excluded from wage labour.

The dream of automation (i.e. no work) reinforces class prejudice. The middle class is the one which has the dream since it seeks to expand its leisure-oriented activities. To the working class, automation means a loss of their job - preoccupation with unemployment which is the reverse of leisure. For the excluded, automation doesn't mean anything because it will not be applied to their forms of work.

The automation of the working class has become the ideology of post-scarcity radicals - from the

anarchists at Anarchos to SDS's new working class. Technological change has rescued them from the dilemma of a class analysis they were never able to make. With the elimination of class struggle by automation (the automation of the working class) the radicals have become advocates of leisure society and touristic lifestyles.

This anti-work attitude leads to a utopian outlook and removes us from the realm of history. It prevents the construction of collectivity and self-activity. The issue of how to transform work into self-activity is central to the elimination of class and the reorganization of society.

Self-activity is the reconstruction of the consciousness (wholeness) of one's individual life activity. The collective is what makes the reconstruction possible because it defines individuality not as a private experience but as a social relation. What is important to see is that work is the creating of conscious activity within the structure of the collective.

One of the best ways to discover and correct anti-work attitudes is through self-criticism. This provides an objective framework which allows people the space to be criticized and to be critical. Self-criticism is the opposite of self-consciousness because its aim is not to isolate you but to free repressed abilities. Self-criticism is a method for dealing with piggish behaviour and developing consciousness.

To root out the society within us and to redefine our work relations a collective must develop a sense of its own history. One of the hardest things to do is to see the closest relations - those within the collective - in political terms. The tendency is to be sloppy, or what Mao calls "liberal", about relations between friends. Rules can no longer be the framework of discipline. It must be based on political understanding. One of the functions of analysis is that it be applied internally.

Preparation is another part of the process which creates continuity between meetings and insures that our own thinking does not become a part-time activity. It also combats the tendency to talk off the top of one's head and to pick ideas out of the air. Whenever meetings tend to be abstract and random it means the ideas put forward are not connected by thought (i.e. analysis). There is seldom serious investigation behind what is being said.

What does it mean to prepare for a meeting? It means not coming empty-handed or empty-headed. Mao says, "No investigation, no right to speak." Assuming a group has decided what it wants to do, the first step is for everyone to investigate. This means taking the time to actually look into the matter, sort out the relevant materials and be able to make them accessible to everyone in the collective. The motive underlying all preparation should be the construction of a coherent analysis. "We must substitute the sweat of self-criticism for the tears of crocodiles," according to a new Chinese proverb.



NORTHAMERICAN ANARCHISM: problems and tasks

by STEVE HALBROOK

The major problem of Northamerican anarchism today is that it does not relate: it doesn't relate to the Northamerican people, it doesn't relate to the people of the world, and it doesn't even relate to leftist movements in the US which are relatively progressive even according to the anarchist teleology. If this is the most salient problem, then obviously the major task is: to relate. The purpose of the following remarks is to question certain old anarchist dogmas handed down to us from Above over the Ages and to explore the problems of libertarianism in the concrete conditions of the USA. Just as Wm. A. Williams and his followers saw the need for a revisionist history to confront establishment history, we need a "revisionist" anarchism to confront establishment anarchism.

I. Relating to the Northamerican People

In theory, the anarchist's job is summed up in the formula: From the Masses, To the Masses. From the Masses: this means being agents working in the objective interests of the masses, expressing their subjective needs, being servants of the people. But that is not enough, because the masses are brainwashed by the government schools, the elite-owned press, and the other cultural instruments of mind domination, and consequently cannot see that they are being grossly exploited or that they could do something to change that condition. Therefore it behooves anyone who does see through the mask of oppression behind which the State hides to do everything in their power to open the minds of the masses and to abolish the State: ergo, To the Masses.

In the history of anarchist practice the latter has at times been de-emphasized. After the formation of the First International some objected to its very existence by interpreting the slogan "the emancipation of the workers is

the task of the workers themselves" in a very extreme form; Bakunin attacked them on the grounds that voluntary organization is not incompatible with anti-authoritarianism and that for anarchist militants not to act was (to use the current term) right wing opportunism (1). This is still a very real problem in the US today. Yet presently far more important is the fact that classical anarchists have not been an expression from the Masses, which they must do before they can move on to To the Masses.

Anarchism is worthless if it is not populist. It must express the aspirations of the people and not take a commandist attitude to them. To accomplish this, anarchism must be just plain anarchism, and not anarcho-this or anarcho-that: (2) if anarchism is the freedom of every individual to do anything he chooses as long as he does not initiate coercion against his fellow man, then to speak of individualist anarchism, collectivist anarchism, or communist anarchism in exclusive terms is dogmatism and is not anarchism. He who does so exposes himself as dictatorial and in the final analysis Stalinist; it is strange how certain self proclaimed saviors of humanity never mention who vested them with the right to impose upon the masses a socio-economic system not of their own choosing.

Two of the major anarchist sects in the US - the anarcho-communists and the free market anarchists - both ignore the dictum From the Masses. On the anarcho-communist side, all we have is a bunch of worn out, imported slogans learned by rote from Kropotkin (whose utopianism, dogmatism, and anarcho-imperialism should have discredited him long ago(3) or some other equally irrelevant old timers; and none of the slogans stop to consider that the Northamerican people or parts of it just might in the future prefer a non-communist brand of anarchism. Thus, we have Mao Chomsky imitating in his introduc-

tion to Guerin's recent volume and elsewhere that "libertarian socialism" (by which he means "planned" economy) is the only true form of anarchism, and that market anarchism would be worse than the present order of state monopoly capitalism - because, he insists, the state today protects the weak from the strong (!!). This attitude applied in practice would mean everything to the masses and nothing from the masses. For deeply imbued in the North American people is an individualist libertarian tradition which may be traced back to Jefferson and Paine, and which through later decades manifested itself in consciously anarchist forms by Thoreau, Lysander Spooner and Benjamin R. Tucker, Albert Jay Nock, and Murray Rothbard. These champions of individualist or free market anarchism have expressed very real aspirations of masses of (usually petty bourgeois - which shouldn't be a bad word for anarchists) people who are severely exploited by the state, which serves the interests only of the big bourgeoisie. In contrast to some of the early anarchists - Proudhon, who championed the cause of the small commodity producer; Bakunin, who defended peasant individualism from Marxian attacks; and Malatesta, who in his later years argued for market anarchism - beginning with Kropotkin we find a form of "revisionism" from the original anarchist toler-

ance, a dangerous revisionism which has continued to this day. In the US this sectarian attitude continues; thus a newly formed group proclaims: "The American Federation of Anarchists is a specific organization of militant Anarchist-Communists..." (4) May they have good luck in a country where the most salient libertarian tradition is an individualist one!

For their own part, some individualists from Tucker to Rothbard have not always been tolerant to other forms of anarchism, ignoring that anarcho-communism is a type of anarchism and hence cannot on principle be rejected, as well as the fact that anarcho-syndicalism does have a certain tradition in the US (remember the IWW spirit which lingers on). (5) The same individualist anarchists also disregard the fact that the class of big capitalists, creatures of the State that they are, must by libertarian principles be divested of all their wealth and the big factories be turned over for ownership and control by the workers. While this is not to say that the market between these factories must be abolished (6) - trends in Yugoslavia have demonstrated the virtues of market syndicalism - it is no more to say that a market economy requires entrepreneurial elitism.

It perhaps sounds crazy that arguments on such an abstract level should be the source of division among North American anarchists, but it only goes to show that they are more ivory tower theorists than activists. The divisions are indeed deep, and it is only recently that a few *anarcho-anarchists* - those who attach no this or that to limit their tolerance - have been working to bridge the gap.

The point should be clear: if anarchists in this country ever hope to relate to the masses they are going to have to learn that they will not do so by insisting on systems which are products of their intellectual elitism and not of the wants of the popular masses. From the masses consists in quoting Thoreau not Kropotkin, it consists in discovering what the people desire and what the State prevents them from getting. But until anarchists do this, they can never expect to influence the masses - which is as it should be.

II. Relating to the People of the World

As internationalists, anarchists must relate to the popular masses of the world. As humanitarians, anarchists must be on the side of the people of the Third World engaging in anti-imperialist, anti-bureaucratic struggle. Yet typically anarchists not only of North America but of the rest of the world have forgotten Bakunin's classic arguments on national self-determination (8) and have repudiated the just struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world. For some, any national liberation movement is by



definition a new elitism, a mechanical, oversimplified view which makes those who hold it (objective) apologists for imperialism.

A major problem for Northamerican anarchists is to recognize the validity of the ongoing Third World revolution, for they are in the belly of the Monster itself - with easy access to its entrails - and if nothing else they can keep from being criminals of silence by denouncing this international dracula, by engaging in anti-imperialist struggle, by bringing the war home. US imperialism is the enemy of the whole world, the most ferocious conspiracy of criminals in history, and is the ruthless murderer of hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children all over the face of the globe. In a word, it is the highest form of Statism ever to confront mankind. It is the State *par excellence* - one could almost say it is the perfect ideal type of State in Weber's sense - and thus anarchists must hold it as their most resolute enemy. Every day it threatens the world with total annihilation, and, as Bertrand Russell so aptly put it: "Wherever there is hunger, wherever there is exploitative tyranny, wherever people are tortured and the masses left to rot under the weight of disease and starvation, the force which holds down the people stems from Washington."

If for no other than tactical reasons, every person or group who opposes US imperialism should be considered an ally. US imperialism, as the highest manifestation of statism in this century, is enemy number one for the anarchist. But this is so in a double sense, for it is a fact that the most resolute fighters against US imperialism in the world today are anarchists inclined - and until anarchists wake up to this fact they will remain slumbering in the dust bin of history. For those who are willing to take the trouble of seeing through US imperialist propaganda, they will find that the basic fact of Third World revolution is not only struggle against the foreign statism of imperialism but also the domestic statism of bureaucracy. From London's *Freedom* all the way to Venezuela's *ATV Soletda* and then north to Arizona's *Metob* we find anarchists denouncing the current struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against US imperialism. Ignoring that the MLF of Vietnam is extremely decentralized, encourages the people of each village to rule themselves, and champions the cause of the peasant against the landlord, anarchists denounce them as authoritarian statists! Pretending that the conflict in the Middle East is a conflict between states, their eyes are closed to the soviet, the Popular Front set up in Irbid, the severe denunciations by the Democratic front of bureaucracy and Arab elitism, and El

Fatah's instigation of the armed people taking the place of police forces in the refugee camps. Many anarchists parrot the imperialists' line on China, and stop their ears to newer interpretations which emphasize Mao's anarchism, the anarchistic Cultural Revolution, and so forth. "Distro" with the antibureaucratic elements of the Cuban revolution (9). The Tupamaros of Uruguay include workers' control in their programme, and the liberation movement in "Portuguese" Guinea is seeking to re-establish the stateless societies of the Balantes.

On the one hand are the oppressed masses of the world rising up to crush their oppressors and instituting roughly or nearly anarchistic societies. On the other hand is twentieth century Statism represented by US imperialism. Will anarchists go on being irrelevant - indeed, counterrevolutionary - or will they begin recognizing as their friends the exploited masses whose struggle constantly surges forward and their enemy as US imperialism and its junior partner Soviet social-imperialism? Northamerican anarchists must declare who are their friends and who are their enemies. This stuff about a "third force" is empirically unjustified, confuses the real issues, and consigns anarchists to being not a "third force" but a "no force". Anarchists in Northamerica as a consequence should be in the vanguard of the anti-war movement, championing not only defeat of US imperialism but also victory of the various national liberation movements.

This goes without saying that libertarian elements within the "American tradition" must be emphasized here as in the positive domestic revolutionary program. And once more we see its roots in Jeffersonian isolationism, which grew into Mid Western populism and other sources of isolationism in this century. The Old Right, the individualist libertarians of the stripe of Albert Jay Nock and Harry Elmer Barnes, constituted the anti-imperialism of this century all the way up until the Vietnam war, and this tradition lives on in the hearts of many, especially of lower middle class origin. This tradition was not revived when the US aggression in Vietnam was intensified in 1965 partly because New Left students pursued tactics which were bound to alienate this class. What is deplorable is that this Old Right program - along with its domestic counterpart of anti-big business, and pro-decentralization - was not rejuvenated. Additionally, there was the old NW tradition of anti-militarism, but, alas, today's "radical" students use a rather different approach to workers than did Big Bill Haywood. The first step of relating to the people of the world is by relating to the people of Northamerica, but neither has been done.

III. CONCLUSIONS

A few conclusions are warranted from the above remarks. First, it is evident that anarchism must cease being expressed in terms of a nineteenth century European ideology and must become a populist expression of Northamerican traditions and experiences: to be red and black on the inside the Revolution must be red, white and blue on the outside (10). This entails the repudiation of all forms of dogmatism on the part of anarcho -this and -that. It should also be added that unity among all anarchists is the first step to creation of a real anarchist movement in this country: too many times the anarcho this and that have actually published in their announcements for national conferences that dirty Maoists or creepy individualists are not welcome, reminiscent of the old sign "Niggers and dogs not allowed here." It is good for anarchists to be diverse in their predictions of how anarchism might work in economics or elsewhere, for this is as anarchism should be, besides the fact that diversity draws diverse outside people; but every form of dogmatism, sectarianism and self-righteousness must be cast into the cesspit. With the absence of intolerance, North-

american anarchists could finally get organized - a step which a few still object to, forgetting that voluntary organization is a part of anarchism and that disorganization only leaves the way open for the organized forces of statism to triumph.

But perhaps a Northamerican anarchist organization bringing all the present splinter groups together is not too far in the future. Only when such an organization is formed in every state, in decentralised sections which eventually must become at one with the masses, can anarchists become effective over the whole country. This means being effective not only in the individual neighbourhoods but also internationally, for being a real force against US imperialist aggression - which anarchists should be - requires national organization. These tasks are immense, possibly insurmountable; but even without their accomplishment the struggle of the peoples of the world surges forward, destroying first the weaker then the stronger links in the imperialist chain. In the long run, US imperialism is headed for total collapse. But if anarchists fail to speed up this process, then they have no right to complain about whatever policies the masses pursue.

NOTES

1. Cf. Bakunin, 'Protesta de la Alianza', *OBEAS* (Barcelona: Tierra y Libertad, 1938), Vol. VI, pp. 232-7.

2. Cf. Leonardiggio, 'Impure Anarchism - Left and Right', *Radical Libertarian* (Fall 1971), from 15 Yale St., Winchester, Mass. 01890.

3. Cf. V. Richards (ed.), *Maklatsa* (Freedom Press, 1965), pp. 243-51, 257-68, and elsewhere in the volume.

4. From AFA broadside. AFA, Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minn.

5. Thus Rothbard, 'Anarcho-Communism', *Libertarian Forum* (June 1, 1970), from Box 141 Madison Sq. Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10010.

6. Cf. Bass, 'Economics of Workers' Control', *Libertarian Analysis* (Spring 1971), from PO box 210, Village Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10014.

7. Three excellent publications which have been doing so are: *Libertarian Analysis*; *The Abolitionist* (Radical Libertarian Alliance), PO box 14, Verona, N.J. 07044; and *Sowburet*, PO box 3634, Tucson, Arizona.

8. Cf. Halbrook, 'The Controversy between Bakunin and Marx on the Question of Nationalism' *Anarchy* (London), No. 4.

9. Among other places, I have attempted to revise some of these myths in 'Libertarianism and Mao's China', *Libertarian Analysis* (Spring 1970) and 'Anarquismo en Cuba?' *Abolitionist* (Feb. 1971).

10. A paper pushing this line is *New Patriot*, Box 50393, Chicago, Ill. 60650.

A NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

When in the course of human development, existing institutions prove inadequate to the needs of man, when they serve merely to enslave, rob and oppress mankind, the people have the eternal right to rebel against, and overthrow these institutions. The mere fact that these forces - inimical to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness - are legalized by statute laws, sanctified by divine rights and enforced by political power, in no way justifies their continued existence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all human beings, irrespective of race, colour or sex are born with the equal right to share at the table of life; that to secure this right, there must be established among men economic, social and political freedom; we hold further that government exists but to maintain social privilege and property rights; that it coerces man into submission and therefore robs him of dignity, self-respect and life. The history of the American kings of capital and authority is the history of repeated crimes, injustice, oppression, outrage and abuse, all aiming at the suppression of individual liberties and the exploitation of the people. A vast country, rich enough to supply all her children with all possible comforts, and insure well-being to all, is in the hands of a few, while the nameless millions are at the mercy of ruthless wealth-gatherers, unscrupulous lawbreakers and corrupt politicians. Sturdy sons of America are forced to tramp the country in a fruitless search for bread, and many of her daughters are driven into the streets, while thousands of tender children are daily sacrificed at the altar of Mammon. The reign of these kings is holding mankind in slavery, perpetuating poverty and disease, maintaining crime and corruption; it is fettering the spirit of liberty, throttling the voice of justice and degrading and oppressing humanity. It is engaged in continual war and slaughter, devastating the country and destroying the finest qualities of man; it nurtures superstition and ignorance, sows prejudice and strife and turns the human family into a camp of Ishmaelites.

We, therefore, the liberty-loving men and women, realizing the great injustice and brutality of this state of affairs, earnestly and boldly do hereby declare:

That each and every individual is and ought to be free to own himself and enjoy the fruits of his labour;

That man is absolved from all allegiance to the kings of authority and capital;

That he has by the very fact of his being, free access to the land and all means of production, and entire liberty of disposing of the fruits of his efforts;

That each and every individual has the unquestionable and unbridgeable right of free and voluntary association with other equally sovereign individuals for economic, political, social and all other purposes, and that to achieve this end man must emancipate himself from the sacredness of property, the respect for man-made law, the fear of the Church, the cowardice of public opinion, the stupid arrogance of national, religious and sex superiority, and from the narrow puritanical conception of human life. And for the purpose of this declaration, and with a firm reliance on the harmonious blending of men's social and individual tendencies, the lovers of liberty joyfully consecrate their uncompromising devotion, their energy and intelligence, their solidarity and their lives.

by EMMA GOLDMAN (from Mother Earth, vol. IV, 1909/10)



SITTING BULL IN CANADA

THE BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIG HORN WAS OVER. No bugles blew, no shouts were heard. The Seventh Cavalry lay in the dust of the Black Hills. So many dead soldiers! The Sioux cut sticks, placed one on each body, and collected the sticks for a careful count.

Although there were thousands of warriors there, with their families, for the annual and sacred Thirst Dance, Sitting Bull knew that there were even more thousands of soldiers where the Seventh Cavalry had come from. He knew that they would soon be after the heads of his entire nation, and that although they could fight well and hard and long, in the end there would be no Sioux left.

A great council was held, and Sitting Bull explained that the Sioux were like "an island in the middle of a sea". They could escape by going south, to the land of the Spaniards, or north to the land of the Great Mother. Some decided to run westwards, and a few others wanted to surrender. Most wanted to follow the man who had engineered the great battle and started to move out with him.

The first priority was to get away from where ever the soldiers would look for them, and they held Council—what should they do? Canada or Mexico? While they camped on the Missouri River, disaster struck. They were awakened by the roar of a summer flash flood sweeping down on them, and while there were no casualties, tents and guns and equipment were swept away in the currents. But the misfortune was not without redemption—had they remained there, it would have been almost certain slaughter, for troops were marching towards them on the south shore.

And so the decision was made—it was to be Canada. Small units immediately headed northward, while Sitting Bull and his followers took a more roundabout route, arriving in the land of the Great White Mother five months later during a hard and bitter winter.

Meanwhile, the famous General Sheridan promised

an aroused American populace that he would take to the field personally to direct operations against the Sioux. An army of 4,000 men was to be collected, and Sheridan foresaw a bloody and stubborn fight. But the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant already had made up its mind that the punishment of the Sioux Nation was going to be one they would never forget—or recover from. He did not know then that Sitting Bull and 3,000 Sioux would soon be safe on British soil, and would be seeking amnesty there.

The goldrush that had touched off the Custer episode continued in the Black Hills, the lands that by a treaty less than ten years' old was to have been reserved to the Indians as long as the sun would shine and the grass would grow. Adventurers were swarming in, and soldiers preferred shooting Indians to shooting people from "back home". The Indians would have to go.

And so the remaining Sioux, the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes, and others at the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies signed the papers handed to them.

They knew what the papers meant. One chief, not long before, a proud custodian of the plains, held his blanket before his eyes as he made his mark.

To Wood Mountain in what is now Saskatchewan came the Sioux. The Ogalala, the Minnecougoos, the Uncapapa. And there were Blackfeet, Sawsae, and Kettles—and the People of Black Moon. There were 109 lodges in all, crowded beyond usual occupancy—and Sitting Bull was yet to arrive. The vital statistics of the community reflected both tradition and current stress: 500 men, 1,000 women, 1,400 children, 3,500 horses, and 30 government mules. Not far away was the camp of the Santees of White Eagle, a loyal Canadian Chief.

Major J. M. Walsh, one of only 300 Northwest Mounted Police in the whole of the Territories, travelled to the encampments of these political refugees, and easily made arrangement for a meeting with principal chiefs Little Knife, Long Dog, Black Moon,

and Man-Who-Crawls.

"We know we are in the Queen's country. We came because we have been driven from our homes by the Americans. We came to look for peace. We have been told by our Grandfathers that we would find peace in the land of the British. Our brothers, the Santees, found it years ago, and we have followed them. We have not slept soundly for years, and we are anxious to find out where we can lie down and feel safe."

Satisfied with this explanation, Walsh gave them a small amount of ammunition, for they were using knives made into lances for hunting buffalo, or lassoing the huge beasts and then slashing away with a knife to kill them. In the weeks to come, Walsh kept in close touch with the Sioux while Ottawa and Washington pondered their respective diplomatic moves. A few months later, he reported to Ottawa again to tell of the arrival of Four Horns, the head chief of all the Teton Sioux with "what you might call the headquarters of the tribe". That was 57 more lodges and then Medicine Bear pulled in with 300 lodges of Yanktons. He told Walsh that the Americans had refused to allow them ammunition to kill buffalo to feed their families—they had left the United States for ever. They told Walsh:

We are British Indians. Sixty-five years ago was the first our fathers knew of being under the Americans. Their fathers were told at that time by a chief of their British Father (for it was a Father not a Mother we had at that time) that if we did not want to live under the Americans, we could move northward. From childhood we have been instructed by our fathers that properly we are children of the British, and that we are living with strangers, and that our home is to the north. There are those among us who wear medals of their White Father for fighting the Americans.

But the question was not what the Sioux had remembered. Did the people in Ottawa remember the promises made in the name of King George III during the War of 1812?

David Laird, governor of the Northwest Territories, was more anxious to keep them out than in keeping promises. He wrote Walsh:

It is very undesirable, for many reasons, that these Indians should be allowed to reside permanently in our territory, even though they should remain peaceable and quiet as those who, after the Massacre in Minnesota in 1862, took refuge on British soil.

Laird wasn't the only one who wanted them to leave. General Miles, of the US Army, who had made camp within a stone's throw of the border sent his head scout to accompany an American priest, Rev. Abbott Martin, to persuade Sitting Bull to return to the United States. Annoyed and surprised at this intrusion, and uncertain about what this would do with his peaceable relationship with Canada, Sitting Bull took them prisoner and summonsed A. G. Irving, assistant commissioner of the NWMP to come immediately. As Irving reported to the Secretary of State of Canada, R. W.

Scott, on June 6, 1877:

I found his camp at a place called the Holes, an old battle ground of the Crees and Saulteaux, about 140 miles due east from here (Fort Walsh) on the plains shown on the map as Buffalo Plains. Sitting Bull's camp was composed of about 150 lodges, and close to his camp there were about 100 lodges of Yanktons. . . . I was particularly struck with Sitting Bull. He is a man of somewhat short stature, but with a pleasant face, a mouth showing great determination and a fine high forehead. When he smiled, which he often did, his face brightened up wonderfully. . . . Sitting Bull spoke as a man who knew his subject well, and who thoroughly weighed it over before speaking. His speech showed him to be a man of wonderful capability. . . .

The Ceremony at the opening of the council was very impressive. After the peace smoke was concluded, the ashes were taken out and solemnly buried, the pipe was taken to pieces and was placed over the spot.

The official minutes of the council he held there with Sitting Bull show the determination of the Sioux not to return to the United States lest their people be destroyed:

Sitting Bull had around him Pretty Bear, Bear's Cap, the Eagle-Sitting Down, Spotted Eagle, Sweet Bird, Miraculous etc. In the Council Lodge there must have been 100 men women and children. Pretty Bear, who is a chief now—not a soldier—opened with a prayer, holding the pipe of peace aloft:

"Creator: Look down on me! my Grandfather! (Here all the chiefs and soldiers held their hands aloft.) See the course I am going to raise after this. . . ."

"Make this land to be full of plenty and the land peaceful."

Here the pipe was lighted with buffalo chip, a match being refused as being deceptive. Sitting Bull, taking the pipe and pointing it to the four quarters, handed it to the great chief, holding the end himself.

Sitting Bull spoke:

"I don't know anything else that I can say in any other way: we are going to raise another people. That's what I am going to speak about. We are going to raise in the north with the British.

My Grandfather raised me in a long blanket. My heart was good. . . . The Americans always ran behind me, and this is the reason I came this way.

The Americans gave us flour in every direction. I said, 'Hold on! We want buffalo meat. . . .' The Creator raised me on horseback.

Remember this is the land I was brought up on, me and a woman; that is the reason I came back. I was brought up here.

God never told the Americans to come to the head of the Missouri. We were raised on this side of the sea. You were raised on the other side. On both sides of America there were only two blankets left big enough to cover me.

My heart was strong, but now it is really weak. That is why Americans want to lick my blood. . . . Why do the Americans want to drive me? Because they want only Americans to be there! God told me if anyone came from the East to eat with him just the same. But it is no use.

You—a priest! You told me you came as the Messenger of God! What you told me was not good for me. Look up, and you will see God. Look up, as I am looking! I don't believe you Americans ever saw God. That is the reason they don't listen to me. You know—as the Messenger of God—that they came to kill me. Why did you wait until half my people were killed before you came?

Do you think it is the will of God to have some of his people under your army so that you can laugh at them? You are waiting for my people to come to your land, so that the Long Knives can rush at them and kill them.

The Great Spirit looks at me every day. And after this talk if there is anything wrong, it will be against me. Now did God or the Queen ask you to tell me to give all my stock to the Long Knives? Did God tell you to come and make me poor?

Go use your influence with the President, to send back the bad men to where they came from and leave the good men. There will be peace then. What can the Americans give to me? They have no lands.

Lieut. Col. Irvine said:

You are in the Queen's, the Great Mother's country. Major Walsh has explained the law of the land, which belongs to your Great White Mother, you must obey her laws. As long as you behave yourself, you have nothing to fear. The Great White Mother, the Queen, takes care of everyone in every part of the world.

That evening, about 11 p.m., Irvine was surprised to find Sitting Bull alone at his tent. He sat on Irvine's bed until an early hour, talking in subdued tones about his many grievances against the Americans. Canada chose to ignore the points made by Sitting Bull. The politicians in Ottawa fretted about what the Sioux would do to the westward movement of the settlers, and what would happen between Canadian-American relations? What would happen if Canada tried to force the Indians back into the States—and failed? With London handling external affairs for the newly born Canadian nation, the problem was one for the British ambassador to worry about. David Mills, then minister for the interior, went to Washington to assist him in his negotiations. On August 23, 1877, they met with newly-elected President Rutherford B. Hayes, and the secretaries of state, war, and the interior of his cabinet. Mills explained the basic principles of Canada's relationship with Indians:

I informed the President . . . I did not think we would insist upon disarming them. In the first place, it would not be calculated to awaken in their minds the most friendly feelings, and in the second place, it was a proposition that they would naturally regard as a humiliation. If they were supplied with arms of a superior class, and quality, instead of being deprived of those they had, and if they were dressed up in military officer's uniforms, in this way their obedience and good will could easily be won, and besides, it would be an easy and inexpensive mode of dealing with them.

Savages are pleased with showy dress and a little attention. . .

These more sophisticated means of colonization

developed through the years of building the British Empire were repugnant to the American ideals developed through the hard knocks of pushing back a "frontier." Things like national pride, honourable and just settlements, the Domino Theory, military shows of strength which are still very much in the American attempts to tame the Vietnamese were first tried and tested against men like Sitting Bull. And so the Hayes Administration decided to send emissaries to accept Sitting Bull's surrender, or declare war. They were to offer terms little different than the ones which had caused the initial difficulty.

However, everyone invited to sit on the commission seemed to develop sudden illness. As the Washington National Republican put it:

The Sitting Bull epidemic is affecting everybody. The bare mention of having to travel 1,000 or 2,000 miles and paying one's own expenses (there was no appropriation for peace talks, only for fighting) to wait on the Hon. Sitting Bull, seems to act as a nausea upon those invited to serve. General Miles had information that Sitting Bull is in the United States. That would save the Government the humiliation of sending commissioners to that untamed barbarian, who has twice badly defeated our military forces, and who is now asking us for terms of surrender. In any event, we should not consent to make any treaty with that savage until he has been thoroughly thrashed. . .

General Terry states the additional fact that it would not be safe for the commissioners to attempt to treat with Sitting Bull, unless protected by an overwhelming military force.

Such a policy may well be enough for the Canadian government, but our relationships with the Indians are quite different. We must subdue him by main force, or we will never have any real peace with him.

It would moreover render all our Indian foes insolent and confident should they learn that one of their race had practically extorted terms from our Government by force.



of arms. . . . Treaties with Indians are, at the best, worth but little, and the fewer we have of them, the better it will be for all concerned.

Nevertheless, the commission did get organized, and General Alfred Terry, the commander of the military district of Dakota; General Lawrence of Rhode Island, a prominent Washington social figure and former ambassador to Central America; and former White House secretary Colonel Corbin headed for the long trip westward and north.

At about the same time, gold was discovered on the Salmon River in western Idaho, and the peaceful Nez Perce people were ordered off their lands. They refused to surrender lands which had just been guaranteed to them and waged a brilliant military campaign against overwhelming odds. Engineering a fighting retreat over 1,500 miles of mountains and plains, Chief Joseph and his 800 people ended their struggle, overtaken just short of the Canadian border. On October 5, 1877, Chief Joseph made his famous statement:

Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever.

And so, as the Peace Commissioners were making their way northward, they passed within a few miles of the site of the battle with Chief Joseph. And just at that moment Canadian policemen were attempting to persuade Sitting Bull to come to Fort Walsh to meet with the Americans, one hundred Nez Perce people stumbled into his camp, wounded, bleeding, dying.

Although Sitting Bull reluctantly agreed to obey the wishes of the Canadian officers, he insisted that no matter what terms were offered, he would not accept them, for he had no confidence in any promises made by the Americans. But he and other principal men made the journey to the fort for the parley.

When they walked into the conference room, the Sioux found the three commissioners sitting in their grandeur behind a table at the front of the room. First carefully removing the table, the Sioux warmly greeted and shook the hands of the Canadians present, and looked into space past the Americans. Completely ignoring the visitors, the Sioux took comfortable positions on the floor. They were there as leaders of their people—Bear's Cap, Spotted Eagle, Flying Bird, Whirling Bear, Medicine-That-Turns-Around, Iron Dog, Bear-That-Scatters, the Crow, Little Knife, Yellow Dog, and about 12 minor chiefs. They ordered all outsiders excluded. Sitting Bull, his brown hair looking incongruous amongst the other raven-haired chiefs, was at his impressive best.

General Terry proceeded to read the message from the President of the United States, promising full pardons ("what is past will be forgotten") but insisted that the Sioux must give up their arms and horses as they crossed the border. Terry said these chattels

would be sold, and the money would be used to buy cows.

For the distance they came, and the importance of the encounter, the commissioners must have thought the meeting rather short. Sitting Bull heard the President's message, and after brief whisperings with his colleagues he made his reply:

For sixty-four years you have kept and treated my people badly. We could go nowhere—so we have taken refuge here. On this side of the line I first learned to shoot. . . . I was raised with the Red River halfbreeds. . . .

We did not give you our country—you took it from us. Look at these eyes and ears! If you think me a fool, you are a greater fool than I am.

This is a medicine house. You came here to tell us stories and we do not want to hear them.

I will not say any more—you can go back home.

General Terry asked if it was clear that his offers were refused and then told the Sioux he had nothing more to say.

The peace commission was through.

Sitting Bull and the Sioux wintered at the edge of the Cypress Hills in company with 75 lodges of Nez Perce and Spotted Eagle. He arranged meetings with leaders from all Indian nations for hundreds of miles, proposing a long-dreamed of Union of Indians—this time from a Canadian base. He talked with Big Bear, famous leader of the Crees, and sent runners to gather the Sioux, the Crows, the Cheyenne, and his own Sioux were kept well informed of the negotiations. He worked throughout the winter of 1877-78 and into the spring before Major Walsh told him that Canada would not permit other Indians to find asylum in Canada "under any circumstances".

Explaining his motives, Sitting Bull sat in his camp and told Walsh:

I did not feel safe, and believed that if I could get the Crows to join me, I would be strong enough to fight the Americans if they came to attack me.

It was my wish to try to get every man that lived by the bow and arrow to federate, but while I was endeavouring to get them to shake hands the Americans appeared and stole my horses. There is no man in the American country that wears trousers that is not a rascal!

The United States Government grew increasingly uneasy, and had scouts and paid informers keeping track of Sitting Bull's movements. In addition to trying to set other Indians against Sitting Bull, the US started hard-hitting negotiations with the British ambassador.

Wm. M. Evarts, American Secretary of State, summoned Lord Thornton to a talk, and suggested that Canada might trick Sitting Bull into going to Ottawa, where he could be easily arrested. Lord Thornton expressed Canada's side of the story, and related back to the Marquis of Salisbury in London what he had told Evarts:

Even though we may have the rights, we have not the power. He must remember the circumstances under which Sitting Bull and his followers entered Canada. A large

body of armed men had been driven across the frontier by the United States troops. We had no force in that distant and uninhabited part of Canada, neither was it in our power to disarm them.

They are a burden to Canada, had already cost a great deal of money, were likely to involve her in difficulties with her own Indians, for they were destroying all the buffalo and other game, and were depriving the British Indians of the subsistence upon which they depend. . . .

I thought it would not only become, but was the duty of the United States Government to help us by all means in its power, and that the best way of doing so would be by offering to Sitting Bull such conditions as would enable him to return peaceable to the United States and relieve Canada from the burden and dangers which his presence imposed upon her.

Evarts said the United States would offer no better terms than it had done already. If ever these Indians could be laid hold of again he feared, it was the intention of the Government to put it out of their power to do any more mischief by arresting and imprisoning their chiefs, and by dispersing their followers to different parts of the country. And furthermore, if Canada didn't disarm them immediately, His Majesty's Government would be held fully responsible for their actions.

Thornton disagreed. After all, had not the Fenian Raiders come from the United States against Canada, carrying death and destruction? And hadn't the United States disavowed all responsibility? Thornton told the Marquis of Salisbury of Evart's closing statement:

The Fenian Raids were a matter of history. Since that time, a treaty had been made between the two countries and he would not discuss if the US were right or wrong. He insisted that even if we had to send segments to the Northwest Territories, and it should cost us a million dollars, we were to prevent hostile expeditions from being organized in British Territory against a friendly country. . . .

We ought to arrest him, and either oblige him to keep the peace, or tell him that we would hand him over as a prisoner to the US authorities.

I did not see that any advantage was to be gained by continuing the conversation.

Sitting Bull had, in fact, made a few trips back across the border, but only to hunt the buffalo needed to prevent his people from starving. Irvine had been sent out to warn them not to make any trouble for Canada; he had a message from the Governor-General to read. He described his encounter:

I camped about dusk on the prairie for the night. About an hour later I noticed an Indian coming at a small canter toward us.

When he came to the camp fire, I recognized Sitting Bull. He informed me he was camped in a coulee a short distance off. I said I wanted to see him on business, and that I would go to his camp in the morning.

After having a cup of tea and a smoke, he left me. . . .

The Privy Council of Canada met under more formal circumstances in Ottawa to discuss their next move because of the "urgent importance of preserving the

peace". They termed the US demands as unreasonable:

Lt. Col. McLeod and his subordinates believe that the Sioux will surrender their arms, but state that the Indians feel it would be unreasonable to surrender their only means of transport of their women and children and sick and such chattels as they possess.

The experience of the United States proves that Indians can never be civilized by the force of arms. Force sufficient to show that law has possession, that the country is occupied, is all that is necessary to open up farms, employ farmers, cultivate them, and instruct them at the same time in agricultural pursuits until they are sufficiently informed therein to take charge themselves is the only true and good way to civilize them with the least expenses.

The winter of 1879-80 had been particularly severe. The Americans had so harassed the buffalo by setting fires and reducing their numbers by slaughter-fests that the Sioux were reduced to eating their horses—who were also starving—to quiet the whimpers of their children. Excepting for a few isolated instances, the Sioux remained peaceful, as they promised they would.

But Laird felt heavily his responsibilities to the settlers of the Territories, and wrote the Minister of the Interior:

Over 70 tents of Teton Sioux, being some of those who came over to Canadian Territory with Sitting Bull in 1876-77, had arrived at (Prince Albert). . . . The newcomers are very troublesome to the settlers begging from house to house, and sometimes almost demanding food. . . . They shot a tame buffalo belonging to Capt. Moore, and several cattle owned by settlers. The Indians did not deny killing these animals, but said they were starving. Two or three of the old Sioux of the band waited upon Capt. Moore, and expressed regret and offered to pay for them. . . .

This invasion of settlements by the Teton Sioux ought to convince the Dominion Government that unless they can be persuaded or compelled to return to their reserves in the United States at an early day, some steps will have to be taken to provide for their future. Reserves will be required to set apart for them in this country, and assistance required to be set apart for them in this country, and assistance given to them to commence stock-raising and farming.

It is a serious question, but it must be faced, or the territories will be abandoned by all peace-loving white settlers, and become a scene of guerilla warfare, which may even menace the older settlements in Manitoba.

Finally, scouts brought in word that buffalo had been sighted between the Milk River and the Missouri east of the Bear Paw Mountains and once again the Sioux had food and robes. It was at this camp that Sitting Bull met up with one of the Red River halfbreeds, one who had dreams and ambitions for his people. He talked for days with Louis Riel, the Metis revolutionary leader, then in exile. Although an alliance would be tremendously powerful, Sitting Bull could not afford to take the risk; if he alienated the Canadian Government, that would mean certain death for his people at the hands of the Americans. Riel agreed and encouraged Sitting Bull not to get "between two

fires" for at least a while—maybe after Riel rebuilt his organization; maybe then. Riel offered to go to Washington to see President Hayes on behalf of Sitting Bull, but Sitting Bull said it would be of no use—he could not accept American promises at face value.

The weather turned mild, and the snow melted early, and the buffalo vanished again. By April, Crozier was feeding over 1,000 starving people at his fort. He needed more supplies, which meant more costs, and so the diplomatic discussions commenced again.

Sitting Bull learned that Walsh was planning on going east for sick leave. If there was one Canadian Sitting Bull felt he could trust, it was Walsh. Whether his trust was well-founded is another question, for Walsh had built a military career around his trust relationship with Sitting Bull, and Ottawa more than once suspected that Walsh was not anxious for Sitting Bull to leave Canada lest he lose his status. Others whispered that Walsh was just waiting for the right time to get Sitting Bull's surrender so that he could take full credit.

At any rate, Sitting Bull asked Walsh if while he was in the east, he might go to Ottawa to see the Governor-General, or even to Washington to see the President. Tell them our story, he urged. Tell them the truth. He gave Walsh his finest garments, his ceremonial clothes. Meticulously decorated, carefully sewn, they were among his prized possessions. Since he could not go himself, perhaps Walsh would show these clothes, so that the President and the Governor-General would know that it was the words of Sitting Bull himself that they were hearing.

Walsh went east all right, but from his home in Brockville, near Ottawa, he wrote the Minister of the Interior, and betrayed Sitting Bull:

I consider it impolitic to give Bull a reservation in our country.

He is the shrewdest and most intelligent Indian living, has the ambition of Napoleon, and is brave to a fault. He is respected as well as feared by every Indian on the plains. In war he has no equal, in council he is superior to all. Every word said by him carries weight, and is quoted and passed from camp to camp.

Sitting Bull claims that he should not be blamed for the blood that has been shed within the last few years on the American frontiers, for whatever he did was in defense of the women and children of the tribes. He says the Great Spirit in the first place provided for both the white and red man, but the white man has become so powerful that he defies gods and is trying to undo all that He has done.

... as soon as it would be known that he had secured a home in Canada, he would be joined by a great number of disaffected Indians at present at US agencies, at least a constant communication would be kept up with him by the Indians south of the line, whereby parties would be constantly running to and fro, and would, I fear, prove infurious to our settlers and Indians.

Bull's ambition is, I'm afraid, too great to let him settle down to be content with an uninteresting life, although at times he has shown a disposition to do so. I think if he

were put at the head of an agency filling such a position as Red Cloud and Spotted Tail occupy, with a large number of people to look after, and were able to receive considerate treatment, the government would find him very acceptable and useful.

Bull is a wise man, and if properly handled and induced to accept civilization, would and could do more towards civilizing of the Indians of the Plains as any man living.

Thousands of Indians are wishing Bull's return to the United States, and his acceptance of an agency, not only because they sympathize with him in his sad position, but because they wish to secure the contentment of their own families, and believe that his wise council and truthfulness to them would insure better treatment for them from the government. Bull is the man, above all others, prepared to suffer for his people.

The United States position, in the meanwhile, was toughening. Evarts was indignant at the suggestion that the Indians should be allowed to keep their horses when they crossed the border. The United States, he declared, would no longer receive them back as a free and innocent people—even if they gave up their ponies and weapons. They were to be treated as prisoners of war and nothing else!

Canada decided to simply wait it out, for Sir John A. Macdonald was cagey enough to see a lot of the talk from the US as pre-election manoeuvring. He wrote Lord Lorne:

I've seen many presidential elections in the United States, and at every one of them the rival parties tried to excel the other in patriotism. That patriotism always consisted of attempts to bully England, hence just now this discussion about Sitting Bull and the Sioux.

It was just a coincidence that in the summer of 1880 the circumstances arose that everyone was waiting for—Sitting Bull decided to return to the United States to surrender. For four years now, he had behaved as a model law-abiding citizen, and he kept strict discipline on those who lived with him. But now he felt unwelcome. The official police report tells the tale:

Mr. Legarre (the trader) called upon me to arrest an Uncaspa who had stolen a horse from him. I immediately ordered Acting Constable S. M. Parke to send Acting Corporal Davis and one man to bring the Indian to the post. Sitting Bull advised him to resist. After a few minutes, the Indian concluded to come with Davis, but before they arrived at the post, a number of Indians with Sitting Bull at the head collected in front of the gates and attempted to prevent the prisoner from being taken inside.

I had my whole detachment under arms and for a few minutes, a fight seemed imminent. I talked very sharply with Sitting Bull, so much so that he left here the next morning, telling Joseph Morin that he thought he would never return but would try to make arrangements to return to his agency, as he had lost his chance of ever getting anything on this side.

I handed the prisoner over to Mr. Legarre, who after hearing his case, released him.

And sure enough, that autumn, Sitting Bull and his people split into two camps, and headed for the United States. They were not in any rush to get there and

anyhow, the scarcity of food made progress slow. Just to make sure, Irvine was sent to intercept them to deliver a message from the Canadian Government.

He found the Sioux in bad shape, poorly clad, virtually starving to death. Calling them together, he told Sitting Bull to make sure they returned to the United States, for while the Canadian Government wouldn't force them to return, neither should they expect any food from Canada.

Sitting Bull may have been hungry, but he had not lost his pride. He told Irvine:

When did I ever ask you for provisions?

I would rather cut sticks for my young men to kill mice with, than to ask you for food.

But convinced that he was not wanted in Canada, he continued to plan that dreaded trip back to the United States, and the people moved onward. Bull was in constant terror that they would be trapped and slaughtered and he felt too great a responsibility for his people to let that happen. After all, he could have struck off alone long ago, and survived well—but all these people depended on him!

And so they crossed the border. One group, the larger portion, went on ahead, Sitting Bull following a few days behind. It was Christmas Eve, 1880, when they found themselves camping on the Porcupine River in the Dakota Territories that the lead party had met soldiers, had surrendered, and then had been fired on by cannons after they had given up their arms as their Great White Mother had told them to do!

Eventually, the full story was told. As the Sioux had reached Poplar River, some 40 miles from Sitting Bull's position, they encountered soldiers. The officer-in-command supervised their surrender, and his troops took up a position near the Indian camp.

After collecting every rifle and every round of ammunition, the officer ordered them to round up their horses and then start marching—for Tongue River, on foot. They replied they would, but only after Sitting Bull had caught up with them.

At that moment, a young man, son of Iron Heart, was driving the horses through the camp, after having rounded them up for the surrender. As he passed in front of the troops the bugle sounded, and the whole force of military fired a volley, killing the youth and a woman.

Helpless, the Sioux watched in horror. Only one old woman, the sister of Whirling Bear, in rage and tears, seized a discarded bow, and began firing arrows at the soldiers. Her family gently caught hold of the woman, and took the bow from her. The Sioux had surrendered.

Fifteen lodges escaped, and eventually caught up with Sitting Bull, who immediately headed for the Canadian border once again. Every available soldier commenced chase.

A column left Fort Assiniboin on January 14 to

meet with Major Ilges and five companies of the Fifth Infantry and two companies of the 11th Infantry at Poplar Creek. Their orders: keep Sitting Bull away from British soil, and then compel his surrender. Major Ilges was to attack him in front, and if he should attempt to retreat up the Milk River, he would be met and attacked by the Assiniboin command, composed of four companies of the 18th Infantry, and two companies of the Second Cavalry—in all 326 men and 14 officers.

The weather was bitter—12 degrees below zero. 15 inches of snow. Sitting Bull and his people had scarcely eaten for days, and were struggling for their very survival. The New York Herald described the troops who chased him:

Each soldier is supplied with a buffalo overcoat, furcap, gloves, and arctic overshoes. The men have Sibley tents, and stoves and plenty of blankets. Each soldier carried a few rounds of ammunition, and 250 rounds per man are in the wagon in case it is needed. One galling gun and one 3-inch shell gun accompanies the column, well supplied with ammunition.

24 muleteams carry rations and half forage for the command up to Feb. 5, and another supply train follows with additional supplies.

It is believed that the present movement will terminate Sitting Bull's career as an Indian warrior, and rid the Northwest forever of this pest which has, ever since 1858, been occupying public attention and making trouble for the government.

But the Herald was wrong, and Sitting Bull reached Canada 70 miles ahead of the troops. He crossed the border on January 24, and reached the fort near Wood Mountain on the 31st.

If Sitting Bull and the Sioux were to live in Canada, it meant they would have to give up the chase, and take up farming. Sheridan's campaign to kill every buffalo in North America had almost been 100% successful. All those buffalo gone! Impossible, but true. Sitting Bull and his people talked about how they could make their living from the ground.

L. N. Crozier, now commanding at Fort Walsh, was told by Sitting Bull the full story about what had happened on their trip to the United States. Sitting Bull felt he had proved his point about the Americans:

I do not believe the Americans—they are liars in everything. . . . I went towards the agency against my will, because the Great Mother told me to do it. I knew all the time the Americans would not tell the truth, and when I took one step forward, I stopped to think before going on again. I have shown now that they are untruthful, and I have come back here. And here I am going to remain and raise my children.

But Canada had other ideas. The Privy Council observed with regret that the Americans had used force against the Sioux, for they still wanted Sitting Bull out. How unsophisticated were the Americans! British experience had the answer, for as the Governor-General said:

His surrender may be secured without bloodshed, a result which will be more easily obtained if the United States will be moved to prevent further measure of intimidation, leaving hunger to do its work.

By the time summer would arrive though, Sitting Bull and his people would be dead. If they could get no provisions from Ottawa, if they could get no seeds to plant, how would they survive? Irvine made sure that they wouldn't:

I think the Canadian Indian agent in the Northern Districts should be notified that they are not to supply Sitting Bull or his followers with food, and not to give them any encouragement whatever.

To stall for time, Sitting Bull agreed to send a couple of his young men over to the American reservations to see what had happened to those who had surrendered—and Walsh agreed to feed them while they awaited their return. Crozier wrote Major D. M. Brotherton, commanding officer of the United States 7th Infantry at Fort Buford:

I would most respectfully suggest that an impression as favourable as possible as to the treatment of the surrendered Indians be made upon those now sent by Sitting Bull.

And Brotherton did just that. He gave out extra rations, and the young men returned with glowing tales and a most patronizing note addressed personally to Sitting Bull:

Your people here are all well, have plenty to eat and wear, and are very happy. I wish to assure you of our good feeling towards you and all your people, that our hearts are good. We are pleased to hear that you have made up your mind to come in and live with us.

When your friends get back to you, they will be able to tell you of what they saw for themselves, and then you will know that the reports that have reached you of the bad treatment of the Indians who have already come in is false.

I know you will have a long hard march from where you are to Fort Buford, and that the game is scarce. Just as soon as I hear that you and your people have started, I am going to send wagons to help your women and little children along, and provide all of you to eat, and friends with the best hearts will meet you.

On April 19, 1881, the young men returned. Crozier watched Sitting Bull as he contemplated the letter, the words of the young men, and as he toyed with the tobacco and "other little things" the American major had sent up as a lure. Finally, Sitting Bull turned to Crozier and said simply, "I have nothing to say."

Sitting Bull had toyed for some time with the idea of going to Fort Qu'Appelle. There he might meet with people who had some power, people who might grant him a reserve. There he might find Major Walsh, and find out what had been told to him by the Governor-General and the President. And so it was that he and 40 lodges, mostly of the older people, left for the month-long journey. On May 28, a coded message reached Ottawa that "Sledge Buy" had arrived at Qu'Appelle.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E. Dewdney,

got started on the touchy business of negotiating with the Sioux, with the aim of starving them out but without appearing to do so. His own memorandum of June 7, 1881, describes the first meeting:

I asked them if they had anything to say. They answered that they had come a long way, and were hungry, and wanted one meal. I replied that from word late received from Wood Mountain, the Government found they had been deceived. Sitting Bull said it was correct. . . . Sitting Bull then said, "I have not much to say now."

I asked him if Col. McLeod, Col. Irvine, and Capt. Crozier had not all seen him, given him the same advice, and told him the same story, that they must expect no assistance from Canada and that it would be for their own good to go back to their country.

Sitting Bull knew he was talking matters of life and death. He thought over his position carefully and then began a lengthy and proud speech:

Col. Irvine came from Fort Walsh and said the Queen wants you to go home. Our Mother, the Queen, says whenever you go, shake hands with the white man. I was going back, and when I was over the line, I was fired at.

I told Col. Irvine and Capt. Crozier I want to get an answer from Major Walsh. I said, "What is the reason you are in such a hurry to send me across the line, what is the reason? This is my country here. . . . You were born across the water. I thought you had come here to make money and to feed those who are hungry. How is it you are in such a hurry to push me aside?"

The Great Spirit who made me made all upon this earth, and made us that we live on buffalo meat. He did not make us to live on the half-breeds and white man. This is the first time I have asked for assistance. I shake hands with the white man on this side and I feel safe. I shake hands with the Americans, and I am afraid of them. I told Capt. Crozier no one has harmed me since I came on this side.

Look at those people sitting here. Some of them are sons of great chiefs; I am no chief, but when we come to run buffalo, I am counted a head man. I know the reason why all of you want me to go back to my country. My carcass is nothing but gold. They would give a good deal for my carcass."

But despite the eloquence of those who addressed him, Dewdney was having no second doubts about his mission. He told them that the best he could do was to give them provisions for the journey if they decided to return to the United States.

The next day, they returned for what was to be their last official meeting with the Canadian government. Canadians should well remember the date—May 26, 1881—for that was their last opportunity for Canada to welcome a great man and a great people. Sitting Bull gathered his followers, and addressed the Commissioner, the representative of the Queen:

Look at these men sitting here. . . . the names of these with me are Mad Buffalo, One-The-Sky-Shines-On, Wicked Thunder, Frog Dog, Sky-Fire, Long Eyes, Wachapi, Lightning-Thunder.

Those who are sitting at the back are my soldiers. Those whom I have along are brave men. I depend on them.

That is why they always go with me wherever I go. This is Iron Star, the Buffalo, One-Who-Holds-The-Iron-Feather, the Fire Shield, Red-Useless Buffalo, Nervous Man.

And this is my child. This is the first time I have taken him with me. His name is Crowfoot. I wish this boy to grow up to be like these men. The child says to you:

"Now, Father, look into this.

and see that I live up to this today.

Find out where I may live a long time."

That is what my son says to you. Look at me! I beg of you, look up to the heavens and down to the earth, and see how I am to get along. It is, I suppose, from the sky above and the earth below me that I am going to live by.

The Great Spirit told me that I had to live, and I didn't want to put aside what he told me.

Then Wachapi spoke:

Let us put our minds together, and see how we are going to make our children live.

Dewdney still held to the government line. As he reported:

I told them I had been sent to make a distinct proposition to them on behalf of the Government. They knew what that was, and I was prepared to carry out my part of it, and if they did not accept the offer made them, they would receive no assistance whatsoever in the way of provisions or land.

Shortly they will have berries, which will keep them alive till winter, when they will have to decide between starvation or surrendering.

Completely disillusioned, a saddened Sitting Bull drifted back to the Wood Mountain to confer with his people, and decided at last to give in: to surrender.

On July 13, he left Wood Mountain, headed for Fort Buford.

Canada had won out. The United States had won out. Sitting Bull had lost.

Or perhaps, they all had lost.

EPILOGUE

Sitting Bull and his immediate followers were imprisoned at Fort Randall for the next two years.

His people had been dispersed to Cheyenne River,

to Pine Ridge, to Rosebud. Sitting Bull himself ended up at Standing Rock, where with his family he lived in a small log cabin on the Grand River.

He carried on a running feud with the agent, who described him as:

... crafty, avaricious, mendacious, and ambitious. I never knew him to display a single trait that might command admiration or respect.

When the Ghost Dance excitement hit his agency, the agent was determined to get Sitting Bull under arrest and out of the way. On a pretext, he sent word for Sitting Bull to present himself at the agency. When he didn't show, the agent sent soldiers, Indians employed by the government, to fetch him.

They found him sleeping on the floor of his home. Awakened, he asked and got time to dress. A crowd of Sioux gathered outside his door, and when the soldiers started to ride off with Sitting Bull, a fight ensued.

Sitting Bull and four other Indians, and seven of the police were killed. The cavalry came up just in time to prevent the annihilation of the police.

It was December 15, 1890.

President Benjamin Harrison said he was glad that the pest had been killed.

The Indian Agent promised recognition by the government of the US for the services of the policemen as "richly deserved".

POSTSCRIPT

After Sitting Bull was killed, one of the soldiers spied a light movement in a pile of blankets in his cabin. It was Crowfoot, his son, then seventeen years old, the lad who had stood next to his father at the meeting at Fort Qu'Appelle.

One of the men struck the boy a staggering blow, sending him reeling across the room and out the door. There, as he lay dazed on the ground, two more policemen pumped bullets into him. Tears streaming down their cheeks, they killed Crowfoot.

The last dream of Sitting Bull was dead.



THOREAU on slavery, economy & alienation

by BOB DICKENS

IN DISCUSSING HOUSING—in particular, his own dwelling—Thoreau claims that, "Economy is a matter which admits of being treated with levity, but it cannot so be disposed of." In part, he is simply claiming that economy is a serious subject. His interpreters have not seen this as clearly. Nevertheless, the first chapter, "Economy", of *WALDEN* is not merely the longest, it is the most important. Its title is not an arbitrary one. It indicates that Thoreau was concerned with economy as the root of any person's existence. His choice of housing as an example was quite deliberate. Thoreau was attempting to get at the roots of economic problems at the beginning of industrialization in America by dealing with *where* people live.

For Thoreau, these economic problems center around various forms of slavery and "quiet desperation" or alienation. This is what the first chapter of *WALDEN* is all about. Thoreau attempts no cure, but he provides a diagnosis. The keys to his thinking here are his ideas about: (1) alienation of the individual as producer, (2) alienation of the individual as consumer, and (3) the relation of industrialization and capitalism to alienation.

Alienation

One of the bases of Thoreau's thinking about the alienation of the worker from his own product (both as producer and as consumer) occurs fairly early in "Economy":

I cannot believe that our factory system is the best mode by which men may get clothing. The condition of the operatives is becoming every day more like that of the English; and it cannot be wondered at, since, as far as I have heard or observed, the principal object is, not that mankind may be well and honestly clad, but, unquestionably, that the corporations may be enriched.

Here Thoreau was concerned about the producer as well as the quality of his product. At the root, he claims that the profit motive destroys any possibility of production for need and use. He was concerned

with economy as frugality and simplicity, but here he is claiming that the political economy is the root problem, and that as long as the political economy is based on the enrichment of corporations, simplicity, frugality and any other human value will be, or become, impossible.

The profit motive may be the key to capitalism (and for Thoreau, the roots of our social problems), but its ramifications are so broad as to make the derivative social structures have, what frequently is, a dynamic of their own. For example, division of labor is necessary for industrial growth and efficiency. It also further alienates workers from their products, and when carried to extremes means that a person does almost nothing productive for himself. He will eventually even leave his thinking to some specialist as Thoreau points out in the following passage:

Where is this division of labor to end? and what object does it finally serve? No doubt another may also think for me; but it is not therefore desirable that he should do so to the exclusion of my thinking for myself.

This division of labor is not only the case in industry, it is also a guiding principle in the organization of colleges.

The mode of founding a college is, commonly, to get up a subscription of dollars and cents, and then following blindly the principles of a division of labor to its extreme.

This does not mean that Thoreau is simply talking about the intellectual labor of "professionals". He suggests that students ought to be involved in laying the foundations of a University (both intellectually and physically). He goes on to say that,

The student who secures his covered leisure and retirement by systematically shirking any labor necessary to man obtains but an ignoble and unprofitable leisure, defrauding himself of the experience which alone can make leisure fruitful.

This is why Thoreau could look back favorably on the life of the Indian. He was not in a simplistic way asking that we all become so-called primitives. Rather,

he is asking whether there isn't some way whereby we can regain the control over our own lives which Indians demonstrated at one time.

The very simplicity and nakedness of man's life in the primitive ages imply this advantage at least, that they left him still but a sojourner in nature. When he was refreshed with food and sleep he contemplated his journey again. He dwelt, as it were, in a tent in this world, and was either threading the valleys, or crossing the plains, or climbing the mountain tops. But lo! men have become the tools of their tools.

We are the tools of our tools, we are also products as well as producers. The word "commodity" refers to useful things, it also refers to articles of trade (which may have no use). Thoreau is aware of the fact that the worker not only produces commodities, he is one. He, as a person, is of no value to a corporation, it is his labor that is valuable.

Contrast the physical condition of the Irish with that of the North American Indian, or the South Sea Islander, or any other savage race before it was degraded by contact with the civilized man. Yet I have no doubt that that peoples' rulers are as wise as the average of civilized rulers. Their condition only proves that squalidness may consist with civilization. I hardly need refer now to the laborers in our Southern States who produce the staple exports of this country, and are themselves a staple production of the South.

The laborer is alienated and exploited. Thoreau was clear in seeing that the working class and the poor in general are only poor because the economy means that a few gain from the work of many.

But how do the poor minority fare? Perhaps it will be found that just in proportion as some have been placed in outward circumstances above the Savage, others have been degraded below him. The luxury of one class is counterbalanced by the indigence of another. On the one side is the palace, on the other are the almshouse and "silent poor".

Under these conditions it becomes ridiculous to talk about a man working at what he loves to do (as Thoreau does in "Life Without Principle"). Working out of love for one's work is a luxury reserved for a small elite. Specifically, it is reserved for a small, educated, very individualistic elite of which Thoreau was a part. Thus Thoreau disclaims simplicity as the only motive for going to Walden Pond. Rather, he claims that his desire "to transact some private business" is his major motive. That is, he was doing what is frequently known now as "getting his shit together". More importantly, however, he was getting out from the institutions which kept him from doing the writing he wanted to do. He had little tolerance for institutions.

If it is asserted that civilization is a real advance in the condition of man,—and I think that it is, though only the wise improve their advantages,—it must be shown that it has produced better dwellings without making them more costly; and the cost of a thing is the amount of what I call life which is required to be exchanged for it, immediately or in the long run.

This did not mean, however, that he was simply looking back to a more romantic past or forward to a utopia.

Leo Marx is one of the few writers to have called attention to any of this.

This reaffirmation of the pastoral ideal is not at all like

Emerson's prophecy, in "The Young American", of a time "when the whole land is a garden, and the people have grown up in bowers of a paradise". By comparison, the findings of the Walden experiment seem the work of a tough, disillusioned empiricist. They are consistent with Thoreau's unsparing analysis of the Concord "economy" and with the knowledge that industrial progress is making nonsense of the popular notion of a "pastoral life". . . . In WALDEN Thoreau is clear, as Emerson seldom was, about the location of meaning and value. He is saying that it does not reside in the natural facts or in social institutions or in anything "out there", but in consciousness. It is a product of imaginative perception. . . .

This gives the impression that the source of "imaginative perception" was consciousness. Unlike Emerson, Thoreau never even suggested this. It was not social institutions or natural fact, but it was, for him, the Natural Fact—God in Nature. Thoreau was more of a metaphysician than Leo Marx recognized, and more than I think he needed to be. He affirmed both imagination (and its source ultimately in God) and physical nature. The tension between the two combined with his distaste for society produced an antipathy to industrialization and the social institutions related to it, even though he was not so stupid as to fail to recognize the power of those institutions. He opposed the rigidity of the institutions which industrialization and civilization produced. He frequently declared his independence of them. Nevertheless, he was not in opposition to civilization or industrialization *per se*. Rather, he looked for the day when man could control the institutions of "civilization" rather than *vice versa*.

It may be guessed that I reduce almost the whole advantage of holding this superfluous property as a fund in store against the future, so far as the individual is concerned, mainly to the defraying of funeral expenses. But perhaps a man is not required to bury himself. Nevertheless this points to an important distinction between the civilized man and the savage; and, no doubt, they have designs on us for our benefit, in making the life of a civilized people an institution, in which the life of the individual is to a great extent absorbed, in order to preserve and perfect that of the race.

Some problems which faced Thoreau after his experience at Walden Pond, and after he had come to the sort of limited peace with industrialization suggested above, are outlined by Leo Stoller in the following terms:

First, it (the limited peace) required a solution of the problem which Thoreau had avoided when he washed his hands of slavery: how to achieve that union with political expediency which will gain popular support for political principle. Second, it demanded that he give up the no-organizationist's reliance on spontaneous parallel individual actions and learn to participate in reform and political organization.

Thoreau could not make these two changes. A major reason was his individualism, and his inability to think in communal terms. But more important, the formulation of these changes indicates that Stoller misreads Thoreau by making at least three erroneous assumptions. First, he seems to assume that Thoreau had "washed his hands of slavery", and this assumption is proven false not only by Thoreau's writings, but by

his open defense of John Brown and his periodic physical involvement with the underground railway. Second, Stoller seems to assume that "political expediency" (which truly would have been repugnant to Thoreau) is a necessary ingredient in gaining popular support, thereby ignoring Thoreau's role as radical prophet and further ignoring the possible effect (even if latent) of Thoreau's writings. Third, Stoller assumes that Thoreau was a reformer in some sense. The evidence would seem to suggest that Thoreau was a radical who was critical of any compromising reforms. Indeed, if Thoreau had not been so uncompromising, his individualism could be written off as mere perversity rather than having to be attacked as tactically wrong. Thoreau did have a "no-organizationist" bias and this was a factor in his individualism but it may also have been a reason why he could not accept political compromises.

Against Institutions

Thoreau was opposed to the institutionalization of American life because he wanted to preserve individuality. Unfortunately, most of the time, too much of one's life and labor is required to do this, and the individual gets too crushed by many layers of power to fight back. At that point, one is not only alienated as a producer, but is further alienated as a consumer (and of course is reduced to a feeling of further powerlessness).

When I consider how our houses are built and paid for, or not paid for, and their internal economy managed and sustained, I wonder that the floor does not give way under the visitor while he is admiring the gewgaws upon the mantelpiece, and let him through into the cellar, to some solid and honest though earthy foundations.

It is not hard to predict what Thoreau would say today if he saw the tremendous effort to get people to consume unfunctional, aesthetically atrocious items which are somehow raised almost to the status of necessities by a new industry (advertising) having the purpose of encouraging useless consumption. Thus, Thoreau is opposed to those impracticalities made in the interest of profit (disguised as needs) but which have no function beyond that. They are too often "improved means to an unimproved end".

The devil goes on exacting compound interest to this, but for his early share and numerous succeeding investments in them.

Thoreau is concerned that we might become the property of our property. With respect to housing he claims that:

... when the farmer has got his house, he may not be the richer but the poorer for it, and it be the house that has got him.

Part of the reason for this is simply that he probably doesn't own it. He inherited it with its debts ("encumbrances" in Thoreau's terms) or buys it with a mortgage ("hired money").

On applying to the assessors, I am surprised to learn that they cannot at once name a dozen in the town who own their farms free and clear. . . . The man who has actually paid for his farm with labor on it is so rare that every neighbor can point to him.

For Thoreau, however, land is not the only form

of property. He was more subtle in his idea of property than most writers of his time. Money is also property and so are people under some circumstances. He suggests here, however, a labor theory of value, though it is unargued. The point is that even as a so-called property owner, one may be further alienated since one's labor may be unrelated to one's property.

The merchant is also dealing in property. The situation here is worse than with farmers. Thoreau claims that, at the time, ninety-seven percent of merchants fail in business. He also claims that because they are not hard-bitten enough, they do not have the appropriate moral character. In other words, they are too honest to survive in a competitive, profit-orientated economy.

But this puts an infinitely worse face on the matter, and suggests, besides, that probably not even the other three succeed in saving their souls, but are perchance bankrupt in a worse sense than they who fail honestly.

This leaves the business man to the illusion of Adam Smith's "invisible hand". He may feel guilty about being bankrupt in a moral sense so he is led "as if by an invisible hand", to help the "less fortunate". Thoreau calls this helping "philanthropy".

Philanthropy is almost the only virtue which is sufficiently appreciated by mankind. Nay, it is greatly overrated; and it is our selfishness which overrates it.

One might well ask whether a system requiring the "invisible hand" of philanthropy is really a rational system, and Thoreau seems to be asking this question quite directly.

I speak for the slave when I say that I prefer the philanthropy of Captain Brown to that philanthropy which neither shouts nor liberates me.

He asks it in many ways and forms, and it all could be based on the economic concerns and critical insights presented in "Economy". But Thoreau seemed to prefer to ground most of his social and political writing in intuition (and hence in his theory of Nature), rather than work out a thorough economic critique. I believe



this was unfortunate; nevertheless, for a full understanding of Thoreau's social and political philosophy one must turn to his essays rather than to his brief but important excursion into economics. He never fully gets away from economics, but in no other place does he pack as many economic insights into as few pages.

The basic problems he dealt with still exist. The problems were slavery (now in other forms than the very obvious one he frequently dealt with) and Imperialistic wars (e.g. The Mexican War). He never lost sight of the original base of the problem. For him the roots were to be found in alienation. In the last essay he prepared for publication, "Life Without Principle", he begins with this theme in a couple of different forms. One is his own situation when asked to give a lecture:

A man once came a considerable distance to ask me to lecture on Slavery; but on conversing with him, I found that he and his clique expected seven-eighths of the lecture to be theirs, and only one-eighth mine; so I declined.

He is, of course, justifying his own very personal, critical style for the article, but he is also speaking of his refusal to perform alienated labor. They wanted, not him as a person, but a certain amount of his "labor power" (Karl Marx's phrase). He was determined that he would "give them a strong dose of myself".

Slavery

He returns also to the theme of alienated labor in general. For example,

Most men would feel insulted if it were proposed to employ them in throwing stones over a wall, and then in throwing them back, merely that they might earn their wages. But many are no more worthily employed now.

One could get the impression from this that Thoreau is blaming the laborer for his alienated state, but he recognizes that the matter is not so simple.

When I observed that there are different ways of surveying, my employer commonly asks which will give him the most land, not which is most correct.

The profit motive is present again, and it corrupts the laborer as well as his employer. Slavery is a perfect example of this and Thoreau dealt with the subject in a number of essays. Some of what he said on slavery has become famous. I want to deal with some of his less famous (perhaps infamous, since being infamous is sometimes a value) statements.

Very early in "Economy" Thoreau makes the following comment:

I sometimes wonder that we can be so frivolous, I may almost say, as to attend to the gross but somewhat foreign form of servitude called Negro Slavery, there are so many keen and subtle masters that enslave both north and south. It is hard to have a southern overseer; it is worse to have a northern one; but worst of all when you are a slave-driver of yourself.

He is saying: look, the problem is right here staring us in the face. We are all slaves. "Negro Slavery" is simply a blatant, open form of slavery (alienation) from which we all suffer—particularly if we become "masters" by supporting a system which makes any form of slavery legal. He is also dealing with a theme to which he was to return in "Slavery in Massachusetts". If there are slaves in Massachusetts then the people in

Massachusetts should free them rather than being concerned so much with areas far removed from them (e.g. why not deal with hunger in America and then be concerned with Biafra, rather than let the condition exist under our own noses and deal with another one farther away). So Thoreau devotes the first paragraph of "Slavery in Massachusetts" to a description of a meeting in which Nebraska is discussed.

... but though several of the citizens of Massachusetts are now in prison for attempting to rescue a slave from her own clutches, not one of the speakers at that meeting expressed regret for it, not one even referred to it.

The next paragraph is a scathing attack on those we might now call professional liberals, those who refuse to seek radical solutions, who do not get to the roots of any problem.

They who have been bred in the school of politics fail now and always to face the facts. Their measures are half measures and makeshifts merely. They put off the day of settlements indefinitely, and meanwhile the debt accumulates. ... The fact which the politician faces is merely that there is less honor among thieves than was supposed, and not the fact that they are thieves.

Then he returns to the question of alienation, now in a new form. Slavery is degrading. This is not new, so were labor conditions of that time (and now), so were the conditions of seamen in the Navy, so were many human relationships. But slavery is more than degrading, it is treating a person like a thing. Persons become commodities (not just their labor, but their entire life becomes a commodity) just like a sausage is a commodity.

Much has been said about American slavery, but I think that we do not even yet realize what slavery is. If I were seriously to propose to Congress to make mankind into sausages, I have no doubt that most of the members would smile at my proposition, and if any believed me to be in earnest, they would think that I proposed something much worse than Congress had ever done. But if any of them will tell me that to make a man into a sausage would be much worse,—would be worse,—than to make him into a slave, than it was to enact the Fugitive Slave Law,—I will accuse him of foolishness, of intellectual incapacity, of making a distinction without a difference.

John Brown

This solution is some sort of revolution. That is, he argues that Massachusetts should cease to support slavery, and that until it does men should cease to regard themselves as citizens of Massachusetts. The last is a revolutionary step, though it is not a revolution immediately. So too, John Brown did not produce a revolution at Harper's Ferry (though he did help precipitate the Civil War), though his act was a revolutionary one (even if it suffered from poor planning). Thoreau was aware of the revolutionary nature of the raid and he should have quieted all attempts to call him an absolutist pacifist by defending John Brown in three speeches. He could only react with contempt to the lack of respect for John Brown that he found in his neighbors.

When a noble deed is done, who is likely to appreciate it? They who are noble themselves. I was not surprised that certain of my neighbors spoke of John Brown as an ordinary felon, for who are they? They have neither

flesh, or much office, or much coarseness of some kind. Thoreau's own elitism is partially responsible for the tone of this statement, but so is his respect for John Brown and for his "noble deed". He regards Brown as the true "emancipator".

He has liberated many thousands of slaves, both North and South. They seem to have known nothing about living or dying for a principle. They all called him crazy then; who calls him crazy now?

Brown did not liberate anyone with a proclamation. Physically, he liberated few people. Thoreau is talking here about mental liberation. He is suggesting that many were freed spiritually by Brown's example (and this process may still be going on). But there is a curiosity in Thoreau's last sentence. He seems to have thought it a rhetorical question, but it was not rhetorical and historians still debate it. Nevertheless, it is crucial to Thoreau because Thoreau's defense of Brown depends on his analysis of him as being

like the best of those who stood at Concord Bridge once, on Lexington Common, and on Bunker Hill, only he was firmer and higher principled than any that I have chanced to hear of as there.

Thoreau is defending Brown as a noble revolutionary and pointing to the revolutionary base of our own culture. He is not one who failed to see the logic of his own thoughts on civil disobedience. Even the abolitionists (excepting Parker and Phillips) turned on Brown. As Thoreau points out:

Even the *Liberator* called it a "misguided, wild, and apparently insane—effort."

The *Liberator* is the paper of W. L. Garrison, who was one of the most famous abolitionists. But Thoreau saw the value of his arguments more clearly. He knew that

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable.

He did not expect the Judges of American courts to make a just decision since they could only make a legal one.

In "Slavery in Massachusetts" he claimed:

I am sorry to say that I doubt if there is a judge in Massachusetts who is prepared to resign his office, and get his living innocently, whenever it is required of him to pass sentence under a law which is merely contrary to the law of God. I am compelled to see that they put themselves, or rather are by character, in this respect, exactly on a level with the marine who discharges his musket in any direction he is ordered to. They are just as much tools, and as little men. Certainly, they are not the more to be respected, because their master endows their understandings and consciences, instead of their bodies.

They have decided to let someone else do their thinking as Thoreau warned in "Economy". So Thoreau's defense of Brown is not a legal one, it is a moral defense. Nor was his defense an ordinary "political" defense (e.g. one in which you defend a member of your political party at any cost). As Stoller points out:

Thoreau's "Plea for Captain John Brown" is still, on the level of doctrine, the statement of a thinker who is outside parties and organizations and who has no grasp of the impulses that govern politics in men built differently than himself. He is still a disunionist, taking exception to Brown's "respect for the Constitution and his faith in the

"permanence" of the union between the states—he still defines politics and he still measures political acts only with the ruler of principle, careless of consequences.

But Thoreau is not quite so politically naive as Stoller claims, nor was he "careless of consequences". He saw, as few did in his time or ours, that politics would have to be a-political (that is, outside of "normal channels") in order to have the desired consequences of getting rid of slavery. He was not a reformer and he was not a bomb thrower or fighter (though he saw the latter two as possibilities). He was a revolutionist in his own peculiar way and with little naivete involved.

Thoreau was trying by such a defense to reach the people who Brown thought he was fighting for (North and South). He had hoped in vain that the American people would rise to defend John Brown. It was a vain hope, but though Thoreau's individualism was strong, it did not lead him to contempt for people.

I would much rather trust to the sentiment of the people in their vote you would get something of some value, at least, however small; but in the other case, only trampled judgment of an individual of no significance, be it which way it might.

On the other hand, Alfred Kazin claims that:

Brown's raid was exactly the kind of mad, wild, desperate, and headlong attack on the authority of the United States, on the support it gave to the slave system, that Thoreau's romantic individualism sympathized with.

But Thoreau's individualism was not sufficiently great to override his very rational imagination. He claimed that:

The society is mad and proves it by objecting to John Brown while condoning all kinds of violence on even the most petty level. We preserve the so-called peace of our community by deeds of petty violence every day. Look at the policeman's rifle and handcuffs! Look at the gallows! Look at the chaplain of the regiment! We are hoping only to live safely on the outskirts of this provisional army.

In a historical context, Thoreau felt that he was defending a man who was, at worst, not hypocritical. He was defending a man who would act in a straightforward, uncompromising way, who understood that:

If I have unjustly wrested a plank from a drowning man, I must restore it to him though I drown myself.

He would also apply this to Slavery and imperialism: This people must cease to hold slaves, and to make war on Mexico, though it cost them their existence as a people.

His individualism was partly temperamental, partly due to his extremely idealistic ideas of community, but it was never the "rugged individualism" of capitalism, and he was never a seeker of power or leadership. He felt that Brown was doing his thing without concern for his power, and this was one of the things Thoreau found noble. He did not feel he was defending a madman. He felt that he was defending a noble human being who understood what Thoreau meant in reminding his

countrymen that they are to be men first, and Americans only at a late and convenient hour.

Forms of Servitude

Thoreau, at least, knew that the enemy was not ultimately in the South, and in dealing with the war in Mexico (1854) he saw the same enemy there as in

the question of slavery.

Practically speaking, the opponents to a reform in Massachusetts are not a hundred thousand politicians at the South, but a hundred thousand merchants and farmers here, who are more interested in commerce and agriculture than they are in humanity, and are not prepared to do justice to the slave and to Mexico, cost what it may. I quarrel not with far-off foes, but with those who, near at home, cooperate with, and do the bidding of, those far away, and without whom the latter would be harmless. He also anticipated the argument that we have colonized Black people and that decolonization is revolutionary.

All machines have their friction; and possibly this does enough good to counterbalance the evil. . . . But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organized, I say, let us not have such a machine any longer. In other words, when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize. What makes this duty the more urgent is the fact that the country so overrun is not our own, but ours is the invading army.

Colonialization, Imperialism, and Slavery are separate parts of the same phenomenon. They may, and often do, have a dynamic of their own in specific cultures (e.g. slavery is a form of racism, and racism in the United States has its own characteristics and is not simply reducible to imperialism or class struggle). Nevertheless, there is an interrelation, and Thoreau was aware of it. This has made it possible for anti-Vietnam groups to reprint the essay on "Civil Disobedience" with a few minor word changes (principally substituting "Vietnam War" for "war in Mexico") and use it as an anti-war pamphlet, and for civil rights group to do the same sort of thing. For Thoreau, the Mexican War was not one which the American people desired, it was a war fought for the benefit of a few.

Witness the present Mexican War, the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure.

The few are the establishment of Thoreau's time and of ours. They are the ruling class and the State is the ruling class and its tools. Further, this is dialectically related to a nation's ability to use conscription. Conscription is the State's final and most crushing way of alienating labor. It is its admission that it cannot find soldiers committed to it, and therefore must hire slaves at great advertising expense. It is not only conscription which is at issue here. Thoreau is concerned with the question "What is the price-current of an honest man patriot today?". He is concerned that patriotism and related things like being a soldier because of some patriotic duty, are merely things the State buys (at a low price) to bolster up its illegitimacy. Perhaps the reason is that,

when war too, like commerce and husbandry gets to be a routine, and men go about it as indentured apprentices, the hero degenerates into a marine, and the standing army into a standing jest.

Wars may be fought for any number of reasons (at least, many reasons may be given), but they are popular

under few conditions. The major sort of popular war is revolutionary war. A revolutionary war cannot be won if the people are not in support of it (or if it is won, it will not be revolutionary). Thoreau showed some sensitivity to this in one of his first entries in his Journal.

"Men claim for the ideal an actual existence also, but do not often expand the actual into the ideal."

Individualistic Anarchism

Full scale social revolution could never be his theme since his individualism forced him into the position of "one man revolution". This is why "Civil Disobedience" was so important to him. It was both philosophical and technical, and it could be completely individualistic (though it need not be). Kazin claims that:

... It is impossible to imagine the most passionately anti-Vietnam writer saying today that in face of such evil, "I need not say what match I would touch, what system endeavor to blow up! We have all lived too long with violence to be persuaded by the violence of language."

But Kazin missed the point, mainly because he does not quote the entire passage. The whole sentence reads as follows:

Rather than do thus, I need not say what match I would touch, what system endeavor to blow up; but as I love my life, I would side with the light, and let the dark earth roll from under me, calling my mother and my brother to follow.

Thoreau is making a hypothetical, comparative judgement that it would be better to lead a violent rebellion (as Brown did later) than use voting as one's only reaction to a state which oppresses one's brothers and sisters. He is attacking the slowness of going through "normal channels" (as it is now popularly called). Actually, the criticism of this passage should be directed at the last part of it. Thoreau could not call on his brother (except literally, i.e., meaning his brother John who died in 1842) since his own individualism too often forced him into a position of one man revolution. Thoreau is an anarchist, an individualist anarchist (as most anarchists were at his time). But he often carries the individualism part so far as to make social or communal forms of anarchism impossible. This is the point where Thoreau and Marx are from opposing traditions. As a revolutionary, Thoreau could only opt for one-man revolution even to the extent that this became akin to hero worship.

The bravest deed, which for the most part is left quite out of history, which alone wants the staleness of a deed done and the uncertainty of a deed doing, is the life of a great man.

Though heroes can be John Brown's, by Thoreau's own admission sometimes "the hero degenerates into a marine".

Thoreau's anarchism was a desperate attempt to counter the alienation of a society beginning the Industrial Revolution.

But it is not the less necessary for this; for the people must have some complicated machinery or other, and hear its din, to satisfy that idea of government which they have. Men are not ready for individuality (not the same as individualism in that individualism is not consistent with community, individuality must be the result of

community). It may be that:

... government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone; ...

Nevertheless, this is closer to Adam Smith than to most socialists, and Thoreau can be quite simplistic about this.

Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it.

Still, Thoreau is not an anarchist for no reason. He believes in one man revolution. He is calling for acts of rebellion, of resistance and non-cooperation. Ironically,

The soldier is applauded who refuses to serve in an unjust war by those who do not refuse to sustain the unjust government which makes the war;

Thus, Thoreau argues that:

It is not a man's duty as a matter of course, to devote himself to the eradication of any even the most enormous wrong; he may still properly have other concerns to engage him; but it is his duty, at least, to wash his hands of it, and, if he gives it no thought longer, not to give it practically his support.

But Thoreau is not quite willing to leave things at the stage of washing his hands of the government (his individualistic anarchism), he wants people to go further (civil disobedience). So, he asks what is for him a rhetorical question:

Unjust laws exist; shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?

However, just as the question is rhetorical (he has clearly led one to the point of arguing for the last alternate), the "we" is a disguise (rare for Thoreau) for the "I". He is really justifying his own life of Civil Disobedience (minor as it may have been except that he wrote about it) on the grounds that you should "let your life be a counterfriction to stop the machine".

Civil Disobedience

So anarchism is tied to individualism and both to Civil Disobedience. He is uncompromising in his demands for non-cooperation as a part of Civil Disobedience. The following passages are separated by an interesting paragraph, and I quote this in reverse order, but they actually make a good argument for individual non-cooperation.

Under a government which imprisons and unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison.

I do not hesitate to say, that those who call themselves Abolitionists should at once effectually withdraw their support, both in person and property, from the government of Massachusetts, and not wait till they constitute a majority of one, before they suffer the right to prevail through them.

In fact Civil Disobedience and Anarchism cannot be separated in Thoreau's thought. He had no illusions about anarchism as an immediate possibility.

But to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but at once a better government.

He had no illusions about Utopias. He persists in his dreams, however. For if one does not dream, one has no idea of where to go. No majority can deter-

mine the value of these dreams, for only freemen with vision can deal with dreams, and for most men,

... there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well.

Neither can the law be depended on, because it depends on the majority and their obedience.

Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice.

In other words, Thoreau could see no morally compelling reason for obeying any law just because it is a law. He was profoundly heretical by intention. His vision was of a world of free individuals, each of whom did what he or she thought was right, and where "the only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think is right". Thoreau was claiming that people have a right, and an obligation, to regain control over their own lives. Human dignity was an ultimate value for him. This was his reaction to a society bent on destroying all individuality.

Hence, civil disobedience (including non-cooperation) was his philosophy. It may need to be reworked in a post-scarcity, increasingly automated society, but it cannot be called irrelevant. An example of his relevance is found in an essay by Robert F. Williams:

Henry David Thoreau is idealized as an apostle of non-violence, the writer who influenced Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr. But Thoreau was not dogmatic; his eyes were open and he saw clearly. I keep with me a copy of Thoreau's "Plea for Captain John Brown". There are truths that are just as evident in 1962 as they were in 1839.

But Thoreau states his own relevance best. In his College essay "The Service" he strikes a note which stayed with him:

Of such sort, then, be our crusade,—which, while it inclines chiefly to the hearty goodwill and activity of war, rather than the insincerity and sloth of peace, will set an example to both of calmness and energy,—as unconcerned for victory as careless of defeat,—not asking to lengthen our term of service, nor cut it short by a reprieve,—but earnestly applying ourselves to the campaign before us. Nor let our warfare be a boorish and uncourteous one, but a higher courtesy attend its high chivalry,—though not to the slackening of its tougher duties and severer discipline. That is our camp may be a battlefield, wherever the dormant energies and affections of men may tug and wrestle, not to their discomfiture, but to their mutual exercise and development.

There is no individualism here; rather, there is a tough minded blending of individuality and responsibility to a group. Many radicals (many of whom call themselves anarchists) have learned little about "tougher duties and severer discipline", and could learn a lot about the tug and wrestle part of dealing with ideas. Thoreau was an individualist, but he was not undisciplined and he never gave up on his vision of a community of free persons. Maybe he is more relevant today than in 1836 when he wrote "The Service". Certainly, he is no less relevant.

ABOUT MALATESTA

by DAVID WIECK

Looked at objectively, the activities and hopes of the few thousand anarchists scattered over the globe are ludicrous or pathetic in their pretension, or else simply irrelevant. These few thousands - over against a world-wide array of well-organized power! Consider, however, an interesting historical conjunction:

In the youthful New York anarchist milieu of the middle and late 1940's and early 1950's, certain ideas came to be generally accepted, some of them after prolonged and even acrimonious discussions. Brief identification of these common themes will blur certain issues but not (I hope) misleadingly. These: political and economic decentralism; critique of institutional bureaucracies; critique of leadership-concepts (nowadays one would say: anti-elitism); critique of the concept of an organized "movement" and stress on temporary functional groupings (nowadays: "ad hoc", "conspiracies"); liberation and equality of women and of children; communistic economic ideals (on the whole, but questionably); personalist individualism; "the movement" (anarchist) as a kind of community; direct action, inventively non-violent if possible; draft resistance and anti-militarism; opposition to the Cold War and Korean War (and to the Second World War previously) as, on both sides, struggles for imperial power; a critical attitude toward romantic ideas of revolution; anarchism regarded as a general orientation, philosophy of life and action, first of all of an individual's life, rather than as a set ideology; critique of Marxist (and anarchist-syndicalist) ideas of "the working class"; and of course anti-Stalinism, critique of bourgeois values and way of life, anti-Stalinism and anti-Leninism, emphasis on black emancipation, etc. Nowhere outside the anarchist milieu could one find anything resembling this constellation of ideas. To

an astonishing degree - and this is my point, the "conjunction" - very many of these ideas are to be found in the contemporary consciousness of American white radical youth. We might ask what this means (1).

Not much of a claim of historical influence can be made, although the anarchist milieu of New York, and of San Francisco of the time, undoubtedly affected the evolution of radical pacifism, and although Paul Goodman eventually came to be widely read. There is of course no harm in supposing that strong ideas may acquire a certain life of their own, and the ideas mentioned did in fact have strong foundations. First of all, they had foundation in an acute sense of social and existential realities. Second, in some good theory: the psychology of Freud and Reich; the sociology of Veblen, Weber, Durkheim, and Myrdal; the economics of Borsodi; the anthropology of Mead and Malinowski and also of Kropotkin; the educational ideas of Neill; the community concepts of the Goodmans; the anarchist theories of power and bureaucracy, which constituted the basis of a theory of history; the anarchist interpretation of the Russian and Spanish Revolutions, and Randolph Bourne's interpretation of the American Revolution and American State. And third, in critical attachment to the traditional values of anarchism (especially as expressed by Godwin, Kropotkin, and Malatesta), conceived as essentially continuous with the great value-traditions of mankind.

Still, if we wish to account for the contemporary radical consciousness we have to speak mainly of the great disillusionment with American democracy consequent upon the latest war, the racial conflicts, the "discovery" of poverty in a nation which pretended to be middle-class, the manifest uncontrollability of the war-making State, and also of the psychological trauma of a

(1) The ideas of what I have called "the New York anarchist milieu" found expression in the review *Resistance* (called, in the first half of its dozen-year existence, *Why?*), which in turn reflected the well-attended weekly discussions at the SIA hall (of the Spanish anarchists) on Lower Broadway. In the spiritual desert of the mid-fifties these activities lost their momentum and ceased.

many-rooted sense of alienation. (We might speak too of how the rediscovery of "early Marx" has tended to rehabilitate later-Marx and to force spontaneously libertarian thoughts into a Marxist framework.) So we should claim no more, perhaps, than that a strong liberatory idea like anarchism - essentially negational, in a more profound sense than Marcuse's - can be a base for insights and anticipations, surely not wasted (2).

I have (without doubt) implicitly exaggerated the convergence, the "anticipations", and now there are negative signs in the "contemporary consciousness" - the revival of Marxist ideology, the sectarianizing of "the movement", the widespread sense of failure and defeat and loss of élan, the isolation of campus radicals, the success of cooptations and public relations, the corruption of the youth-culture, the bad drugs, the black-white dichotomy, etc. Five years ago the parallelism could have been documented in fine detail; now one encounters burned-out 18-year-old ex-New-Leftists, and one wonders if the proliferation of anarchist reprints by commercial publishers is after-the-fact. (3).

It may also be, to pursue a (perhaps) pessimistic theme, that movements of protest and rebellion have a brief fixed career (the Southern non-violent movement, the Northern ghetto-rebellion and Panther militancy, the student rebellion of '68-'70, now the prison rebellions) after which the dedicated ones, who cannot or will not "go home" again, throw their lives away in desperate combat (Russian anarchism after 1905), or try to hold it together by tight ideological organization, or work to keep the faith for the next time of rising in hope that the level of consciousness momentarily gained will have been (nevertheless) a permanent increment. (Imprisoned, exiled, black-listed from society, driven underground, they cannot "go home" again.) We may be - how could we tell? - at the end of the middle-class-youth insurgency. But it may not matter.

On the hypothesis, which I suggest, that we are still in an early stage of a new era of revolutions, itself a stage in a longer series of historical trials at post-capitalist society, one will expect rebellion and protest to ebb and flow (a ghetto does not erupt twice, etc.). Per-

(2) The Marxist Daniel Guérin saw in the appearance of the idea of Workers' Control in the days of May '68 in France the welcome re-emergence of libertarianism as a vital force. But how much else is there to anarchism? - The French Days of May afford, of course, a spectacular example of the influence of an anarchist group. The magazine *Noir et Rouge* was a center at which anarchist ideas were continuously brought into relation to the day-to-day of student-life and worker-life.

haps, in the economic stagnation which seems to lie ahead for America, the next and potentially interesting turn will be that of the wage-earners, whose foothold in the middle class and separateness from the Nonwhites and Appalachian-and-Welfare whites are being threatened and eroded. If the population of the Lower Depths becomes expanded from above, and welfare and heroin become as common among whites as in the ghetto, there may be (as the advertisement says) "a whole new ball game".

On such a historical hypothesis, it will be very important for the future that libertarian and anarchistic thought and values have pervaded, to the degree that they have and however how, a numerous radical generation - thought and values which also have relation to older American traditions which ideological Stalinist militarism interrupted in the '30s. For, given anarchist values, the question about the future would be, Can the series of revolutions which began in, and in fact perpetuated, the totalitarianism of Tsarist Russia have one day a libertarian ending? By suggesting that culture is more important than ideology, the divergence of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions from the Russian model is encouraging; by eliminating poverty, while achieving major technological advances, the Chinese Communists have shown that the economics of post-capitalist society can be, even under Communist dictatorship, a fairly simple exercise in rationality and need not reproduce the Russian chaos. These are, regardless of the Statist, collectivist, anti-libertarian, and power-political character of the regimes, hopeful signs with respect to what might be accomplished, sooner or later and in some manner or another, in the United States.

The perspective in which I am situating current history - hopefully a perspective which includes a future - is not current fashion. I shall not insist on it, or on the hypothesis of "eras" and "series" of revolutions. The next step to all that we are ever permitted to take, and a good rule to adopt, lest we become hostage to our images of history, is that the next step must validate itself in the present and the here, in the consciousness and action of people. But the present is also a place where our minds can bog down.

(3) But then I remember that long ago, at age fifteen, I was a very disillusioned ex-Communist high school student.

Despite a certain anarchizing tendency, there is hardly in America an *anarchist* movement, or a specifically anarchist presence (to borrow the imperialists' word) comparable to what one finds in Paris or Milan. Lack of continuity of tradition has helped make it so that some proclamations of anarchism have been simply negational (anti-State, anti-power). An empty negation has no dialectical force; the black flag may then signify only "Far out". What validity was possessed by the ideas mentioned at the beginning is still theirs, and what I have just said implies that need for thought upon them has not passed; by indicating their foundations and origins, I have intended to suggest a method. (I make the anti-Yippee assumption that for libertarian advancement, mind-thinking is essential, irreplaceable. Among the most useful guides, I suggest, would be Malatesta, or more exactly Malatesta's habit of thought.)

"Major" anarchist thinkers are usually so reckoned because they articulated anarchist ideas in terms of some major philosophical tradition: Godwin and the rationalism of the Enlightenment, Proudhon and Hegelianism, Bakunin and Marxism, Kropotkin and Positivism and Evolutionism. The various individualisms have generally found their basis in Spinoza and Nietzsche (they might also have looked to Fichte - though not to that philosopher's politics). More recently the effort to set anarchism deliberately in a philosophical background has been less common and less successful. The psychology of Freud and Reich and (lately) Laing have played an analogous role in our psychologistic, rather anti-philosophical era. Herbert Read's effort to base anarchism in a Bergsonian outlook was unsuccessful, either in creating a new viable

anarchism or in attaching it to a lively contemporary tradition. I have heard of an effort to relate anarchism to linguistic philosophy but know nothing about it.

There is nothing wrong with such "use" of philosophy; on the contrary. One must speak in some language or other, whether one talks in linear fashion or in circles, and a philosophy is (among other things) a comprehensive language in which to speak about man, society and nature. If Proudhon (for example) thought that his philosophical foundations were "true", then he would have to be counted wrong about that, but one could still read him *as* Proudhon, speaking a particular philosophical dialect. If one recognizes the pluralism of philosophy, and then sees the ways in which Proudhon and Kropotkin complement each other, then one will see Proudhon's and Kropotkin's ideas as elements in a mosaic whose totality may be more like an aesthetic whole than an intellectual synthesis.

Not that the differences between anarchist theories are merely semantical. A society of retained absolute self-sovereignty (Josiah Warren), a society of sovereign mutual aid and cooperation (Kropotkin), a society of sovereign justice (Godwin), etc. differ more than linguistically. Whether one regards mutual aid or individual self-interest as primary will affect one's theory of politics, theory of education, etc. But all anarchists do agree that the abolition of coercive political authority (Godwin's "positive institutions") would liberate us to be genuine social animals; all appeal to a principle of voluntary cooperation; personal freedom, personal freedom, self-realization, are shared values. So Kropotkin though *social* justice would make it possible for everyone, and not a privileged few, to enjoy an intense *individual* existence. Possibly, Warren, Kropotkin, and Godwin could look at the same anarchist society and agree that it was anarchist; Warren saying of it that the individual is sovereign, Kropotkin that mutual aid is the rule, and Godwin that justice and reason reign. Possibly - although one cannot be sure of this.

Now, Malatesta is a major anarchist thinker, despite the tendency of historians to neglect him, just because he deliberately sought to pass between the philosophers, of whom he was uniformly sceptical. In a sense one cannot really pass between the philosophers; in the limiting case this would mean uncritical acceptance of the tyranny of ordinary language. But Malatesta reasoned as follows: Here is something we anarchists want, and which we believe that most people, if they understood it and thought for themselves, would in fact want: namely a society of peace and non-coercive cooperation and opportunity for individual development and fulfill-



ment. (This would be an empirical hypothesis.) Between now and the realization stand the economic power of the privileged, governmental coercion and violence, and the masses' habitual submissiveness enforced by religious and political superstition. (Again an empirical hypothesis, although of a higher order.) What then are the most effective methods of overcoming these obstacles and achieving the goal?

There is hidden in Malatesta's thought, it seems, a small assumption, which may be enormous: that what people will, they can do, so that if they come to understand what freedom means, and come then to will it, they can enact it. (Of course, this could be true by definition, if understanding is defined in terms of will and will in terms of deed: but the proposition is not to be taken in this definitional sense.) Or, to phrase it as I have above, that what the people "would want" can be transformed into an effective social force. The revolutionary movement then is the development of a will to freedom concurrent with the breaking down of the objective barriers constituted by violence and power.

In what I take to be Malatesta's central conception, there is something modern and intellectually clear - modern because it marks a break with metaphysical philosophies, including Kropotkin's positivism. But some amplification of this point will be necessary later.

Malatesta would not argue with people about such a question as whether it is good to live in peace and harmony with one's community and make one's contribution to the general welfare - let alone argue that this is the ultimate tendency of material or spiritual evolution or a demonstrable necessity for the survival of the species. One will propose this way to people, and they will show it and try to exemplify it, but if they do not want it, the authority of philosophy and reason and science will not make them. After all, what can take precedence over what a man thoughtfully wills, knowingly wills? And Malatesta believed that a thoughtful, knowing person does will the ends of anarchy - the less clearly and forcefully, perhaps, the more his or her erudition, with its accompanying class-prejudice; the less clearly and forcefully, certainly, the more he or she is indoctrinated by churches and government schools. That "one can be an anarchist irrespective of the philosophic system one prefers" (Richards, p.29), together with its implications, which include an indication of why anarchism must be philosophically free, are (it seems to me) the essence of Malatesta's "approach to anarchism". And it is Malatesta's "approach", together with his "political sense and realism", which Richards regards (properly I think) as his enduring contribution (4).

Is man-thoughtful and man-thoughtfully-

(4) Page references are to Vernon Richards, *Errico Malatesta: His Life and Ideas* (London: Freedom Press, 1985). In my discussion I am trying not to duplicate Richards' excellent work but to go beyond it in certain directions.

willing a fiction, utopianism finally self-unmasked by its own simplicity and clarity? We shall have to try to find out.

III

In a characteristic passage Malatesta wrote:

"In our opinion all action which is directed towards the destruction of economic and political oppression; which serves to raise the moral and intellectual level of the people; which gives them an awareness of their individual rights and their power, and persuades them to act on their own behalf - all action that encourages a hatred of oppression and awakens love among men - brings us closer to our ends and therefore is a good thing (subject only to a quantitative consideration: of obtaining the best results from the forces at our disposal). On the other hand, all activity that tends to preserve the present state of affairs, or tends to sacrifice people against their will for the triumph of a principle, is bad because it is a denial of our ends. We seek the triumph of freedom and love" (1892) (Richards, p.69) (5)

In this passage one can hear the rhythms and habits of Malatesta's mind. There are problems aplenty in it, for Malatesta is preparing to argue for the inevitability of revolutionary violence. What impresses me, however, is the easy way Malatesta writes "is directed toward" "which serves to raise" "which gives them an awareness" "persuades them to act" "encourages a hatred of oppression and awakens love among men" "brings us closer to our ends and is therefore a good thing." We are here, we wish to move there, what is it that will enliven the heart of a person and lead that person to desire of freedom and love and to the exercise of their powers? What will persuade people to act on their own behalf?

I do not know of an anarchist or revolutionary writer who says this first, last and with such naturalness as Malatesta, so that one feels it to be the premise of all his reasoning. It might be objected that the passage is too persuasive: would not all radicals agree to it? But apart from the mention of love, which was a persistent theme in Malatesta's thought, and not in all anarchist thought, certainly not in Marxist thought - apart from the reference to love as a key, a negative corollary is to be understood. This corollary is that unless people come to act on their own behalf, with awareness and with love, then there is nothing to look forward to save the cycle of violence, exploitation, human automatism; and that people can come so to act. If people rebel without awareness, without love, they will be prey to authoritarian messiahs, and it will not matter how justified their blind rebellion has been, or how frustrating to the

(5) Should one correct the "male chauvinist" language of the past? One is tempted to because "people" rather than "men" is certainly more Malatestan. Having at one point, abstractedly, typed "people" for "men", I let it stand.

purposes of the power-group against which they rebelled.

Application of these Malatestan views is unfortunately not easy. The political choices which are commonly proposed to us, including those proposed by the New Left etc., belong to a different system. The radical anti-war movement has been affected by an anti-American paranoia that demands a choosing of sides between the (unique) citadel of reaction and its enemies (the evolution of *liberation* reflects this). One will not understand the State and power so long as one interprets the massacres in East Pakistan as the result of Anglo-American imperialism, ignores the power-political role of "socialist" China, and ignores (above all) the primary fact of the matter, that the wealthy and militarily powerful and the masses manipulable by nationalistic and religious hatreds are no more benign in the Third World than in any other world. *To think in an anarchist fashion is to find oneself at cross-purposes with the choices that the ongoing politics of power proposes.*

Any general answer to this problem would be vague and unsatisfactory. (One might say: the Malatestan anarchist is one who seeks to discover an action which he, and his friends, can do.) The economic struggles of wage-earners in America are not yet of a sort that tends to a *prise de conscience*, but certain direct actions which have been carried out by "minority group" militants, together with people from their communities, have been exactly of a sort that cuts across political and bureaucratic choices and may stand as symbols: I think particularly of the pressures on and invasion of the hospitals of the New York ghettos. More generally one might reason like this: In '68 the occupation of university buildings brought to focus the question, Of whom is a university the property? for whom do trustees hold a university in trust? In '69 the People's Park in Berkeley brought to focus the question, *by what right is property?* Just as the assault on the hospitals has raised the question, Are these hospitals for the benefit of the people of their neighbourhood or the benefit of medical schools? Such questions exhaust themselves and have to be re-invented constantly - without a recipe for inventing them.

[1]

The same spirit, the same approach, underlies Malatesta's mature view of revolution. (His early view was Bakuninist-romantic - the small insurrection would set off the large revolution.) The coming revolution (he thought), whenever it comes, will not be anarchist, given that anarchists are a minority. The occurrence of a revolution, therefore, will depend upon the concurrent initiative of many parties. The anarchists urge these other parties onward, and if there is

revolution then anarchists seek to maximise its libertarianism. To put this thought in a contemporary setting: the overthrow of the Batista regime in Cuba was not the work of Cuban anarchists (although anarchists participated) and the regime which emerged was authoritarian; the task for anarchists would be to seize the opportunity to realize and defend libertarian patterns within the emergent authoritarianism before the latter congealed into a new repressive status quo. Oddly, in 1936, four years after Malatesta's death, there did occur a revolutionary situation in the one country in which the revolutionary initiative, and initiative in the popular struggle against fascism, lay with the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement, but it would be rash and unrealistic to suppose that such a powerful movement, which had been three quarters of a century in the making, will appear elsewhere. *To seize power (or dream of it) is to go outside the libertarian realm.* Anarchists then must think of themselves as associates, and the consciences, and when most successful the highest consciousness, of a social movement they must not expect to dominate.

And what if the revolution does take a strongly authoritarian turn? Malatesta's advice here, given with the Russian (1917) case in mind, is less than satisfactory:

"If we are unable to prevent the constitution of a new government, if we are unable to destroy it immediately, we should in either case refuse to support it in any shape or form. We should reject military conscription and refuse to pay taxes. Disobedience on principle, resistance to the bitter end against every imposition by the authorities, and an absolute refusal to accept any position of command" (Richards, pp.162-163).

One supposes that some of the anarcho-syndicalist exiles from Cuba, who found themselves choosing American "democracy" against Castro's communism, may have thought they were following Malatesta's advice. But like Kropotkin in Russia, Malatesta would not have expected a foreign intervention to permit the renewal of social revolution; if they believed what they said they believed, those Cubans did not understand the world they lived in. On the other hand, Malatesta seems to be saying that in the event of an authoritarian revolution the anarchists (after having urged the authoritarians to make the revolution!) will insist on committing collective and individual suicide, and this would hardly fit with Malatesta's conception of a minoritarian role for anarchists.

Concrete conception of the minoritarian role in a revolutionary situation - or in a local community where action is afoot - is very diffi-

cult. The context of Malatesta's discussion seems to suggest hope that anarchists would be able to sustain against a new government the independence of libertarian communities or regions, and to establish (say) the principle of voluntary financial contributions to government (instead of taxes) as well as the principle of voluntary military service (instead of conscription). Well, to this end one would like to see the "libertarian Marxists" of the world become more rigorous in their questioning of the "Socialist State". The original evil of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 was that its theory (Lenin's and Trotsky's) precluded acceptance of an autonomous Ukraine in which the peasants influenced by the Makhnovist movement could interpret the idea of the Soviet in their own fashion, and precluded acceptance of Soviet autonomy in the industrial sector as well. One does not know of any case in which Leninists have relented from this theory and its attendant practice, repressive of revolutionary groups which sought cooperation without subordination.

In his study of Malatesta, Richards finds a contemporary importance in Malatesta's arguments in behalf of revolutionary violence. (Richards was polemicalizing, not without justification, against a facile conception of non-violent revolution.) But perhaps the question of revolution has to be thought about more carefully - not the question of violence merely - for if one can see that Malatesta pointed a direction, the post-World War I situations in terms of which he reasoned are little like our current scene or any scene we can foresee. If a revolutionary group could somehow succeed in producing in present day America a political crisis of revolutionary dimensions, one would not be wise to consult first of all one's personal safety, for expectation of some alternative to dictatorship of the Right or Left has no foundation. The idea that America is responsible for all the world's evil has generated a desperate "bring it down" psychology. But such a base of military power is not brought down by, so to speak, knocking off its government. By now we should (I think) see clearly that a social revolution without a change of consciousness to sustain it - the point is in fact Malatesta's - will not be a social revolution, will not alter the fact of State-power whose evils anarchists have so amply specified. If this is so, the tendency of anarchists to define their movement as a revolutionary movement is an inappropriate relic of 19th century thinking. At some given time and place, in particular where the State has betrayed the people overtly and rebellions are making way, to help move it forward and give to it a libertarian character, is a natural work for anarchists. Whenever a revolution has succeeded, whatever the terms of its success, it has turned out that a second chance, corrective of the first, has not been permitted. The first one, it seems, had better be a good one.

v

We turn once again to the fundamental Malatestan position, and now to a philosophical difficulty which I want to locate.

Malatesta had no great confidence in economic deprivation as such as a source of motion toward freedom: its product is rebellion but such rebellion without consciousness (once again) is not revolution and it is not anarchy. What he counted on is certain qualities of the human spirit which have emerged, fairly tenuously, through the centuries: a sense of morality, feelings of sympathy and love, a sense of justice, a desire for freedom. (So, as I have written elsewhere, Malatesta combined in his thought the eudemonistic, the ethical, and the libertarian strains of anarchism.) Rebellion without consciousness is blind, spontaneous, but in a sense mechanical; sympathy, love, justice, freedom, these are acts of the soul which are not produced mechanically and which cannot be produced deliberately. Malatesta was on strong ground in trusting them - where they exist. A person who possesses feelings of love and sympathy, and understands what justice and freedom mean, is one who has achieved a consciousness in which the whole of his or her life-attitudes have come to organization. This is what it means to give precedence, as Malatesta did, to will (volunta). The problem, as was indicated earlier, is whether such a will is a fiction, and if it is a fiction (does not yet exist) whether it is a fiction which has power (as an object of faith) to effect its own realization.

People who are thoroughly good, and this is what everyone felt about the anarchists Louise Michel, the Reclus, Kropotkin, Malatesta, and many others whose names are not remembered, find this way so natural and easy that it seems to them to be expressive of nature, or the human spirit, rather than of themselves as perhaps fortuitous and exceptions in the human evolution. *The optimism of anarchism has been (on the whole) the optimism of people who have found it easy to love and feel sympathy and do justice and sacrifice material wellbeing.* But what is the case with the brothers?

Observation appears to confirm it that the goodness of good people is more likely a fortuity of human evolution than an expression of something rightly called the human spirit. Men in general would no doubt enjoy the possession of the fruits of an anarchist society, where no one would be materially deprived and there would be space for one's talents. Those who delight in warfare and the misery of others must be quite few and there are good psychopathological explanations for such aberrations. If people take satisfaction in the knowledge that others are worse off than themselves, it is very likely because they are bothered by knowledge that others are better off and undeservedly so. Most people would undoubtedly find equality endurable. What Malatestan anarchism calls upon people to do, however, is to act on one's own behalf, to assume responsibility, to participate with one's mind and not with one's body alone - and so does all serious anarchism. The question is, who wants to bother? It would not exactly be that people do not want freedom, it would be that the will to freedom, which signifies the will to responsibility, is rarely a ruling passion. One

might suspect - and this is a hard and pessimistic saying - that Malatesta's emphasis on violent revolution was due to a sense (which he certainly did not acknowledge) that men will not accept freedom and its responsibilities unless the regime of irresponsibility is first destroyed. Freedom is thrust upon them, and they come to value its fruits and therefore to will it.

For every theory of social and political action there is an area which cannot be resolved within the theory itself - the area in which one passes over into action and finds out, pragmatically, if the means are there. Action was in fact the area in and for which Malatesta lived. He wrote no theory for its own sake, no extensive formal justifications of anarchism; during a long exile in England he lived quietly as a workman awaiting the day when he could return to Italy and renew the struggle on ground where he could be effective. Everything he wrote was clear and patient explanation of the needs of action. He was a revolutionary agitator who sought to educate and bear to action but not to lead (he did not choose, in 1919-1920, to be "the Lenin of Italy" as he could conceivably have been, if he had not been Malatesta.) It turned out, as a matter of historical fact and no more than that, that the means were not there. The disparagement of Malatesta by such a writer as Nomad, for having declined to seize the reins or for holding the unrealistic theory that one can be effective without seizing the reins, may be the "verdict of history" but it implies that a man can construct a thousand variables, and that if he could, he could bring about a libertarian revolution.

In entering the realm of action, however, do anarchists carry with them a plausible ground? Two paragraphs ago I have tried to put the negative case strongly - thinking, the while, of my friend's contention that only agricultural men was un-wirable and only non-agricultural men (some day) will be anarchistic. But now enters the final element of strength of Malatestan anarchism. I said earlier that only subject to amplification could Malatesta be spoken of as renunciation of metaphysical vision. (I am sure Richards will not like this - I wish he would.) Without a realm of the Ideal, without an idealist dimension, I do not see that anarchism will overcome the arguments which I have implicitly set out against it. But if the ideal comes from outside us, not only shall we not believe it, in this century of philosophical clarity, but we should be possessed by it and so not free (long ago, Max Stirner made this plain). But if we can generate our own ideal, and remain its owners, so that it grows with us, and so that it is a work of spirit free both from psychological determinations and metaphysical a priori, and (therefore) expressive of both our common moral impulses and our dreams of freedom of spirit, then we may have entered a new realm. Such I believe is the work undertaken in Malatesta's anarchism by love, as unspeakably abused idea, not truly an idea but a way of designating a post-alienation human community, an "ideal" which much anarchism, reactive to superstitious religious and churches dedicated to power and

wealth, has hesitated to affirm.

V1

I have, I fear, not remained in close touch enough with Malatestan texts; in essaying to interpret the man, I have tried to read an image in my head derived not only from his printed words and public actions and less public anecdote but also from an effort of empathy on my part. Have I seen in him something which belongs to the much younger Italian, restless, neurotic, mystical, philosophical, intellectual Camillo Berneri, who died under Communist guns in Spain? Richards (I say to myself) will be amazed that I have turned a shrewd practical Italian into someone he does not quite recognize. Once, when Richards was editing *Freedom*, I reproached him, privately but for all that still unkindly, for the sharpness of his rejoinders to writers of foolish letter-to-the-editor, and I suggested that Malatesta would have patiently explained; whereupon I was reminded of the ungladness with which Malatesta was known, during his London days, to have suffered fools. (With peasants and workers, not sophisticated into literary folly, Malatesta's manner was of course different.) Malatesta was above all practical and realistic, and I do not mean to have cast doubt on this image; we catch sight (I think) of both the practical man and of what his ideals meant to him in the following quotation:

"For myself, I would violate every principle in the world in order to save a man; which would in fact be a question of respecting principle, since, in my opinion, all moral and sociological principles are reduced to this one principle: the good of mankind, the good of all mankind" (Richards, p. 61). I would not like, as a practising philosopher, to have to spell out the logic of this statement in any formal way, for I know that Malatesta had a notion of "the good of all mankind" which was not a simple sum of the good of every individual considered separately. If he was not favourable to terrorism, it was on pragmatic grounds rather than out of an absolute respect for human existence; he could not believe that a man who suppressed and exploited other people possessed a moral immunity from being killed if he sought to defend his "rights" by violence. Malatesta was not one to enter into the subtlety of questions like that: the reasoning of his emotions is clear enough, and far enough beyond taint of self-interest, that one cannot complain if, upon logical analysis, he is found not to have given an unambiguous decision upon hard particular cases. In short, I see in Malatesta a person in whose ideals and practicality and common humanity, as uncomplicated as it can ever be, have a vital function.

I had intended first, in view of my starting point, to issue various Malatestan judgments upon tendencies in the current American scene. They would have concerned such matters as revolution-as-self-expression, the celebration of the rip-off, anti-thought revolutionary theatrics, want of patience, idealism, lack of a sense for the human spirit, subtle expressions of a power-orbitation. Perhaps these can be left for the reader to make his or her own inferences.

REVIEW

Giovanni Baldelli, *SOCIAL ANARCHISM*
(Chicago, Aldine-Atherton, 1971)

I cannot hope to do justice to this book in a short review (actually more of an invitation to read than a review), but I take some comfort in the fact that the book is so rich in ideas, definitions and new combinations of old ideas that no "review" could do it justice.

Baldelli is almost unique among current anarchist thinkers in that he is willing to be concrete - even to the point of sketching out a plan for various aspects of an anarchist society. This concreteness is the major strength of *Social Anarchism*. It is an idealistic book on ethics, which does not deteriorate into a series of unintelligible abstractions. Baldelli is willing to talk about ethics when most radicals steer away from ethics except as dictated by their own sort of opportunism.

At worst this willingness to talk concretely about ethics is refreshing. Ask most radicals (including anarchists) about what their ethical principles are, and they either take refuge in some abstract absolute (e.g. pacifism) or can't answer the question. Baldelli submits five basic principles in his "Introduction":

The human person is primary.

Human life is sacred.

Coercion must be rejected.

The end does not justify the means.

Double standards are unacceptable. (pp. 3, 4)

The most interesting of these is both obvious and far-reaching in its consequences: "Double standards are unacceptable." Spelled out, this means minimally:

No one is to be disqualified as a human being by the label of "enemy". What the enemy does to us and what we do to him must be weighed by the same scales and described by the same vocabulary. (p.5)

Most of us run amuck of this principle at some time or another. It is part of the humanity of this book that it reminds us of such a principle over and over again.

Baldelli attacks power (as opposed to certain sorts of authority which he justifies as necessary for society) because power must be coercive and cannot be reciprocal. Power relations involve double standards by nature - one standard for the powerful, another for the weak. Hence, if there has to be any power in a society it must be spread out as widely as possible. The safeguard against "authority of ability" becoming coercive power is that there must be an open possibility for anyone to obtain any socially useful ability, and any authority relationship must admit of scrutiny by a third person. I suspect that Baldelli places too much weight on this third person in that disinterested third persons are easier to define than locate, but

at least he is dealing with the concrete possibility of authority becoming coercive. He is also aware of the possibility of authority becoming manipulative leadership, and of the possible cop-out of reacting to this by seeking unlimited positive freedom to do one's thing. He rejects both possibilities as essentially non-reciprocal.

There is a sort of organic consistency here. Baldelli does not mechanically dispose of possible contradictions by rationalization or periodic rule changes; rather, he works his positions out to their consequences in all directions. For example, he is more concerned with persons as consumers than as producers, and provides a theory of exchange value to go with that concern. This should also mean a theory of compensatory justice. It does. Baldelli argues simply that reparation is the appropriate response to injustice. In a family, this should mean an accounting system of some sort for determining who makes what sacrifices. Here Baldelli develops an "arithmetic of values" such that each person lists what they would desire under optimum conditions, attaches values to each desire (he calls these values "axioms"), then negotiates so that each person gets close to the same value out of the relationship. This all strikes me as absurd on the face of it, but how many families, for example, have been destroyed because people did less? Further, how many political groups have fallen apart because the members could not bring themselves to do something like this?

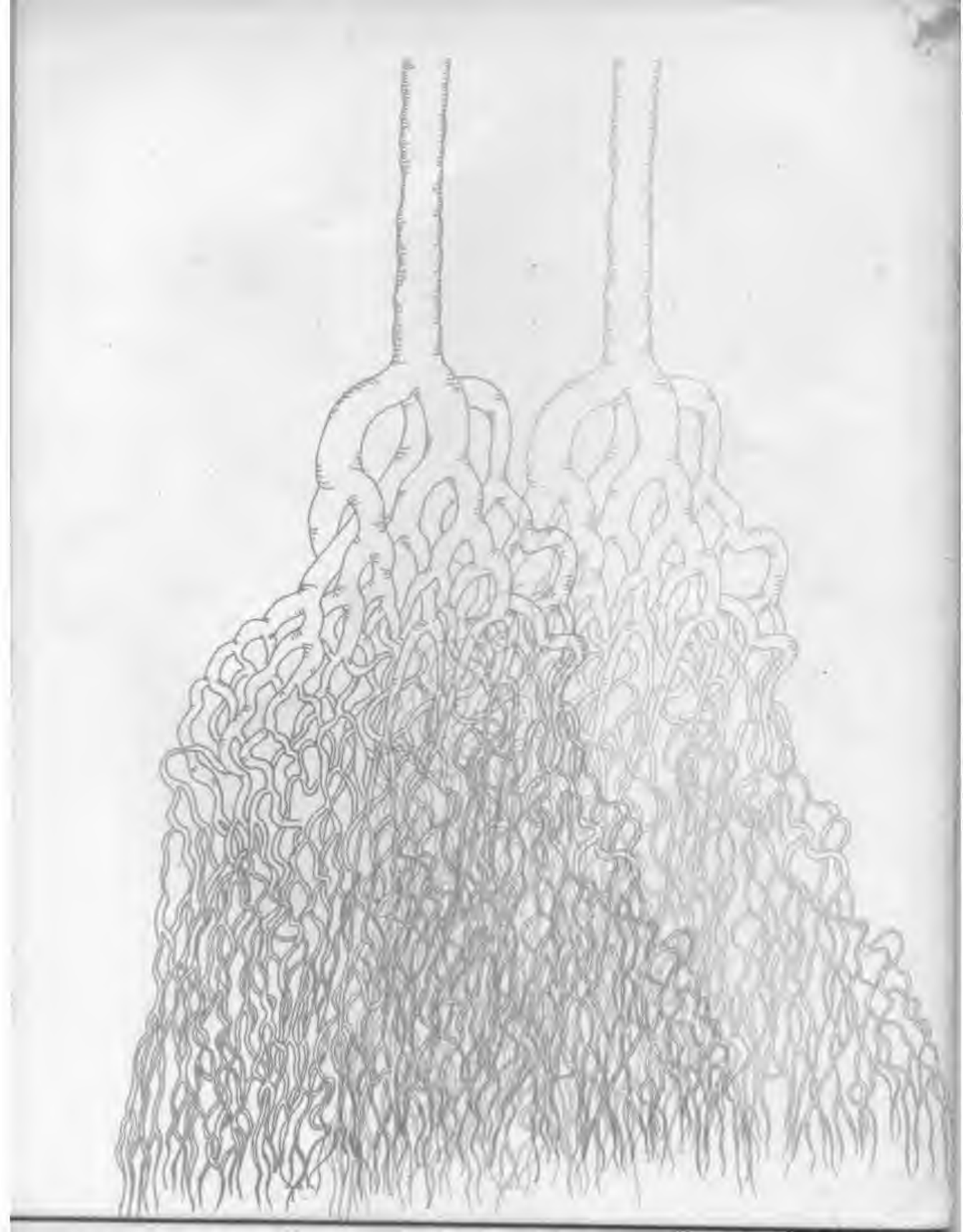
The organic integrity of *Social Anarchism* is essential. Ideals are spelled out in concrete terms. Plans and low level principles lead one back to ideals. If one disagrees with Baldelli, it will not be because he is unclear. More important, if one is disconcerted at first by the idea of establishing a "social machinery", for example, one will have to face Baldelli's argument that the positive freedom of "Art, Music, Philosophy, and Play" is essentially non-social, and that an anarchist society must be primarily concerned with negative freedom - freedom from harm. As he puts it, "An anarchist society, whatever positive freedom it may include and foster, cannot include the freedom to be a tyrant. Respectful of autonomous choice among many possible destinies, an anarchist society will exclude many destinies now possible which contain some element of tyranny." (p.72) This is where Baldelli parts company with free-market-anarchists-of-the-Right, and I would find it difficult to end up disagreeing with him, though I do suspect that we should pay a great deal more attention to the positive freedoms and their realm. For example, Baldelli's *Social Anarchism* is an exercise of positive freedom in the realm of ethics, and it is an invigorating example of the importance of such freedom.

Bob Dickens



"Women need not always
keep their mouths shut
and their wombs open"

— Emma Goldman
1869 - 1935



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ANARCHY Magazine: 95, West Green Road, London, N.15, England. Phone: 01-800-9508.
Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. and Brunswick Design, London, N.15.

**listen, liberals:
the sound of
people's chemistry!**

Maybe not the spectre of revolution but certainly the sound of bombing haunts Europe, Amerika and Japan. The ever-slow and cynical 'underground' is at last beginning to realise that the Angries are with us for some time. INN, before its financial collapse, was beginning to have a debate about stances and positions on revolutionary violence. David (I'm an International Socialist with a difference) Widgey had put it about that the Angries were merely part of the lunacy of stale socks Marxism, whilst Jake Prescott correctly suggested in a prison letter that calling for a revolutionary party as an alternative to sporadic bombing was either the beginning or the end but not the meat of the debate.

The reality of the present is that bombing is here to stay - the large liberal 'it can't happen here' brigade will have to learn to live with brigades of another sort. For in every important 'Western' (this includes Japan) industrial nation there are small and large urban guerrilla movements. The establishment press has gone to great lengths to minimize their size, importance, and effect - but something is happening: mere rhetoric or blindness won't put back together the forces that are blasting pieces of society apart.

What has happened is that from 1968 there has been a massive rise in militant political deviancy. The emergence of the Weathermen in the USA, the Red Army Fraction in Germany, the Angry Brigade and the IRA in the UK, the numerous groups in Japan, France and Italy: all testify that there is an increased use of direct violence and outrage as a political tactic. The escalation of political struggle is here: guns and bombs are being used, banks robbed, diplomats kidnapped, prisoners freed (Timothy Leary and Andreas Baader) and for the moment governments and the establishment press are engaging in 'semantic holding operations' - nobody is talking.

It was Mr B. Dylan, a forces favourite of radical bombers, who argued that 'to live outside the law you must be honest' - what we must begin to do is initiate real debate on the question of revolutionary violence, when it should be used, under what conditions is it necessary, what are its objectives? Tactically there is a whole symbolic world of difference between bombing Biba's (the fashion clothes shop in Kensington) as some fool did in the UK, and bombing the women's toilets in the Pentagon so badly that thousands of gallons of water dropped through onto the American Air Force computers below, putting them completely out of action and forcing the Air Force to publicly declare that they had other computers and that thankfully they weren't totally dependent on those that were destroyed. That was a Weatherman action the other week. We on the left have to begin to talk and argue openly for arms and violent resistance to oppression. Bernadette Devlin, with all her failings, has travelled the road from left MP to

prison sentences for throwing molotovs. Shortly before the Derry murders she commented 'We'll all be outlaws soon!' Well maybe we will and maybe we won't, but whilst concentration camps (internment if you deal in euphemisms) have been used by us English in Northern Ireland, and our troops unleashed on the populace, while the trade unions are being attacked, and open debate takes place about how much censorship the BBC can take, maybe we ought to do the time that is left to do a little bit of hard thinking.

The militant mad bombers work from varying sets of ideological positions, some of them not so mad as downright sensible - if you've not got a shaky hand. Let's look at the Weathermen, who maybe are a little crazy, but then so is the States, for every crazy story you hear about the Weathermen can be matched by a more horrendous story about the ruling class. Not so well reported was the fact that during Nixon's debate with his White House aides and generals over what to do about the recent Vietcong successes, one well-known public figure was heard to mutter several times, we ought to *nuke* them. (Believed to be a reference to nuclear arms.) Right on all those who call Nixon and his ruling clique: Pigs. Off the Pig. Basically the Weathermen argue that you don't have to be a weatherman to know which way the wind blows - and it's not just polluted, it's oppressive. Capitalist democracy minus free speech equals fascism. The essence of fascism is that the ruling capitalist class can no longer rule with its old liberal ideology, thus it seeks the militarization of labour (trade union laws), the opening up of repression (any trial just beginning), and the removal of open discussion (press silence or censorship). It's in this situation that the underground has to become a reality. That some people deem it necessary to start armed retaliation. This is not a sign of hope or despair, rather it is indicative of a new international social crisis. For the first time since Hitler, universities in every major country in the 'West' have sacked and threatened lecturers. What kind of international collapse in ruling-class ideology does it take so that even sections of the ideologists employed in universities are now regarded as dangerous? Something is happening - and we must begin to analyse what it is.

This issue of Anarchy is a contribution to such an analysis, but the work and the debate is ours, people in the radical movement - it can't be left to reportage, we have to decide where we stand on bombing and guerrilla war.

For if nothing else the mere existence of heavy movements should awaken us to the fact that liberal ideology is going, polarisation occurring, and this isn't rhetoric but reality: in every major 'Western' country there are armed left groups, some two or three hundred strong as in the USA, Japan and Germany, others smaller but growing. The situation which produces this cannot be taken as CIA plots, the work of crazies, or simply demoralisation, cos they are here to stay. As the special issue of

the US journal *Scanlon's Magazine* said when it examined its own uncherry pie bombers, 'the only way to bombproof society is to reform the system. The alternatives are repression or revolution, and probably both, and not necessarily in that order.' We who are revolutionaries must take this seriously, for believe you me the ruling class does. For instance, bombing and bomb threats have jumped so high in the United States that in 1970 a National Bomb Data Center was established; according to its reports, between January 1st 1969 and April 15th 1970 40 people were killed, 384 injured and 22 million dollars worth of damage was done in 4,330 reported bombings. Nixon's new crime control bill has sections which provide the death penalty for those convicted of fatal bombings.

The dangers implicit in militant radical action are obvious: the lapse into the whole 'street fighting' honky tonk man kind of image. The exhilaration of causing things to shake rattle and roll. Yet although we have to take up the question of a possible lapse into the 'military error', the glorification of all that goes bang, without regard to whether it has been understood; there is also another kind of error - the non-military argument.

It must be understood that it's an axiom of revolution that to smash the state requires criticism plus arms. The grounds for the debate must be when do we arm, who do we attack, how do we protect ourselves? Incidentally, whatever the limitations of Weatherman politics, organisationally they are superb: only three arrested and three blown up from a force of at least 200.

That the necessary debate won't be held in the press should be obvious to all. We must begin to talk as we've never really talked before. The most interesting feature of the Tupamaros' struggle is the government's censorship on terms such as guerrilla, and the refusal to call them by name. The conspiracy of silence over the bombing question must be broken by you and me: we must have position talks now. Our analysis of 'people's chemistry' can have only one purpose: namely that we learn how and when to move from the arm of criticism to criticism by arms.

Henry Bonny



THE ANGRY BRIGADE

As the class-war heats up, the state increasingly turns its attention to putting down political opponents. Legal repression becomes the order of the day. The political police are given a free hand; tougher laws are passed, blatantly political charges like 'conspiracy' and 'incitement' are suddenly the rage, sentencing becomes more and more vindictive.

Singled out for special attention is 'public enemy number one' - the Angry Brigade. The state has shown it will stop at nothing to find someone guilty of belonging to it. Already they have made a victim of Jake Prescott - although acquitted of actually causing explosions he was convicted on a charge of conspiracy to cause explosions. The evidence against him was incredibly thin, consisting of his having admitted to addressing three envelopes without knowing that they were going to be used to post copies of an Angry Brigade communiqué. For this the judge sentenced him to a savage 15 years.

But the Prescott-Purdie trial was only a dress rehearsal for an even bigger trial. This June eight militants are due to face charges intended to reveal them as the nucleus of the AB. The Stoke Newington 8 conspiracy trial will be the biggest show trial yet.

What is the left doing about this trial? Their response to the Prescott-Purdie trial was appalling. A 'serious failing on the part of the revolutionary movement in Britain', a *Red Mole* editorial was candid enough to call it. Despite a few occasional token lines about solidarity and the need to 'attack and expose all the Old Bailey frame-ups,' the left is really sitting tight. It seems set on repeating the same errors committed over the Prescott-Purdie trial. What is needed is active solidarity aimed at extending the struggle beyond the courtroom. What we are getting is a half-hearted solidarity drowned in idle doubts -

What are the politics of the AB? Do the Stoke Newington 8 include any members of the AB? Are any of the Stoke Newington 8 guilty of any of the charges against them? Can the left actively defend militants who aren't registered with either a union or a left party?

Such doubts are out of place here because they should be absolutely irrelevant to the question of active solidarity with those facing trial. Revolutionary solidarity should embrace all victims of state persecution, whether innocent or guilty, whether bombers or not. The assault on the Stoke Newington 8 is part of a general campaign of legal repression. If the state wins in this case it will consider victory in future political trials a matter of course. If the state can effectively silence our eight, then not a single revolutionary can escape the blame. What is really on trial is the state's ability to railroad who it likes, when it likes, no matter what the evidence. In the Eight's own words, "We are the harbingers of the coming storm and the treatment we receive is the forerunner for all who stand in their way." They are up for trial because they resisted.

There's a further special reason for giving solidarity to the Eight. All of them have been active in different sections of the movement for some time; their involvement covers things as diverse as Clergymen's Unions, Women's Lib, Gay Lib, tenants' and squatters' campaigns, radical student politics, experiments in communal living, international organising in defence of political prisoners.

But here, ironically, we touch on the root reason for the left's disquiet about giving solidarity. The majority of the left reject AB politics as they understand them. And they recognise that both the AB and the Stoke Newington 8 identify themselves as members of the 'libertarian' left and reject traditional, orthodox or

straight socialist politics. So the left dis-
quiet raises the whole question of what is the
revolutionary movement in this country. It's not
enough for the straight left to raise the ques-
tion of solidarity for itself in terms of asking
what is the AB's part in the movement. Their
ideological assumptions about the revolutionary
movement and its development have the terms far
too narrow. And the orthodox left knows this.
Like it or not, many recent developments have
arisen quite independently of the straight left
and have also been hostile in part to it - e.g.
women's liberation critique of leadership and
hierarchy on the left; claimants' union resist-
ance to centralised left organisation.

So long as the left doesn't respond to these
developments in a self-critical manner, the
problem of solidarity with those who don't
swallow their line will remain and worsen. So long
as the left feels it has nothing to learn from
either the Angry Brigade or the Stoke Newington 8,
no real debate can take place. Instead of
responding with a preformulated line of 'terror-
ist adventurists', the left must develop a live
and concrete analysis about such groups as the
AB, which must also involve the questioning of
their own practice. The left must ask itself: how
far do we want to enter into a dialogue with the
AB, how prepared are we for illegal structures,
how much do we see our own tactics and strategy
in terms of present reality. If these issues con-
tinue to be skirted, only the state will benefit.

Is there a way through? Judging from what has
appeared in print, the orthodox left is only
slightly less appalled by 'terror', 'armed
struggle', 'urban guerrillas', 'bombers', etc.
than the overground press. For most of us such
terms conjure up highly sinister and specialised
notations exclusive of any other activities.
Thus 'armed struggle' conjures up professional
soldiers, 'bombers' conjures up people - always
men - with a trick of dynamite in their pockets.
'Urban guerrillas' conjures up a highly organi-
sed military vanguard with complex hierarchy and
networks. The way we use these terms is incredi-
bly mystified. And by failing to subject the
terms to our own analysis we just fall back on
the state's perspective, thereby implicitly
giving our consent to it.

THE AB AS TERRORISTS, URBAN GUERRILLAS, ETC

The AB has been written off as a group of
individual terrorists. By qualifying 'terrorism'
with the word 'individual', left critics can
damn it automatically since individual terrorism
is by definition isolated from the backbone of
any revolution - the masses. But in fact it's
not so simple. For a start the criticism plays
very heavily on myths around 19th-century propa-

ganda-by-deed anarchists such as Ravachol,
exploiting the prejudices against them to ob-
scure not only their theory and practice but also
that of anyone they are compared to. Second, the
criticism overlooks that the arming of the
revolution always has to begin somewhere and
this may sometimes be with small groups of
guerrillas, as was the case in the Cuban revolu-
tion. Armed groups only deserve to be condemned
as individual if they fail to develop and forge
links with other struggles. And whether such a
development takes place or not depends in part on
the whole left movement and the support (critical
and/or active) it gives to violent tactics. The



Carre and damaged home. A sad day

vital thing is not how many people are involved
in a bombing campaign but how much they are
attuned to what is going on in different areas.
If they are attuned then their violence can
express and complement others' actions and ideas
and be part of the whole. The test is not who,
and how many, do a particular action, but how
effectively does it fit into a general offensive?
Finally, we must remember that for the left the
opposite of 'individual' is 'mass', that con-
demning something as 'individual' is their way
of promoting the politics of the mass. But this
'individual'/'mass' polarity is a false one. It
is at once uncritical of the passivity of any
mass, and dismissive for no good reason of other
forms of collective action which are neither
'mass' nor 'individual', such as autonomous
working class action or actions by claimants or
gay people.

The AB is condemned for being elitist and
anti-democratic; it is seen as a self-appointed
band of saviours arrogating to itself the rights
of decision-making in the revolutionary process
without submitting its course of action to the
test of approval and adoption by the masses.

Maybe there is something in this criticism, but definitely not for the standard reasons given. For these presuppose that revolutionaries are only such if they accept a single source of decision-making. This ignores that revolutionary decision-making is more creative when it is diffuse and many-centred. This at least is what follows if you think that revolution is about people getting together to take control of their own lives and learning to take decisions for themselves. And just think what the idea of 'submitting the course of action to the test of approval...by the workers' might mean in the present context, especially since all existing machineries for ascertaining working-class views are external and bureaucratic. Would there have been a major strike if the miners had asked for the approval of a majority of the rest of British workers? Such an idea in the present context would be a recipe for passivity.

Critics who are quicker with labels than with analyses have condemned the AB for their apparent secrecy, for being isolated and conspiratorial. The secrecy criticism is more often than not a red herring and a very stupid one at that. If people are still worried about being 'in the know' (who did it, what will they do next, when will they do it?) they haven't grasped the fact that revolution is illegal whether or not the tactic we employ at any given time is legal or illegal, and that at the moment anyway, activities such as bombing and sabotage must be surrounded by very tight security.

The illegality of bombing forces a certain kind of isolation on the AB, in the sense that it cannot openly work with other groups, share or co-ordinate actions. The idea that it could is inconceivable at the moment in England. That does not mean it will always be so (the IRA in Free Derry doesn't have this particular problem ...), nor that the actions of the AB have no bearing on what other people might be doing. But the responsibility for making this kind of inter-action fully effective is two-way: the AB needs to make its actions expressive and back them up with as much explanation as possible; and people using other means of struggle must show some response to the tactic - whether hostile or not, but at least a recognition that the AB is part of the movement and that what it does is relevant. For without this recognition the AB will be effectively isolated (as has been the case up till now), as a person whose letters are unanswered is isolated.

To call the Angry Brigade 'conspiratorial' conjures up the picture of a group bent on imposing its own ends on people. But the AB aren't manipulative in this sense. Of course the state sees the AB as a conspiracy, but then it is

unable to tolerate the idea of a movement coming together in any other terms than those of sinister groups perversely working for their own ends ... this is how it explains every setback (e.g. Carr's talk of 'small but virulent minorities in our midst' after the miners' victory).

The AB is seen as setting itself up as a substitute for mass action. But none of their actions make sense as a substitute for mass action. Almost all of them were intended to complement mass struggles, on the industrial and other fronts. Their exemplary actions against symbolic targets were clearly meant to parallel mass actions (e.g. Carr's house was bombed on the same day as a large march against the Industrial Relations Bill) as well as to demonstrate the possibility of a new kind of collective struggle.

The AB is decried as 'adventurist,' lying behind this charge is the view that revolutionary armed struggle in Britain is inappropriate except during the final phase of revolution, when the material preconditions are 'right'. This view is hidebound. Once you accept the need for revolutionary armed struggle at some stage (even if only in the final phase), then you must accept the need to prepare for it NOW. 'Urban guerrilla warfare is based on the analysis... that when conditions will be ripe for armed struggle, it will be too late to prepare for it' (Red Army Fraction). We ask you: do you really believe that when the revolutionary offensive reaches the point when the state physically confronts it totally, armed resistance will appear out of the sky? Well, we don't, so we can't dismiss the AB on the a priori grounds that their use of revolutionary violence was premature. Maybe AB-type armed struggle was ill-chosen, maybe the AB should have spent longer preparing (the Tupamaros took nearly 7 years preparing); but we cannot condemn them for taking the idea of the revolution seriously. Whether it is right to organise armed resistance depends on whether it is possible; whether it is possible we can only find out in practice. Actions change the situations we're fighting in, the tactics we use.

In any case, we can't accept the idea of armed struggle as a self-contained phase or stage. This is one-dimensional. Armed struggle only makes sense when pursued alongside other non-military forms of struggle. Once this is grasped, then obviously there will be contexts in which armed struggle groups can't take the place of legal left organisations; single actions can't replace ongoing class struggle; bombs and other tactics of the urban guerrilla can't replace agitation/subversion/building alternative structures on the industrial front and in the communities.

AB actions are written off as counter-produc-

tive on the grounds that they supplied the state with a pretext for increased repression. But we all know that the state can as easily invent as discover a pretext for escalating repression (this is what happened in Italy recently) and that its repressive response is more often than not completely out of proportion to the immediate or remote threat any action represents. As a rule, escalation of class-war repression occurs independently of what any section of the left does. The basic manoeuvres of the ruling class are dictated by the changing patterns of capitalism. Given a choice, the British ruling class would obviously prefer rule by repressive tolerance to the present unstable state of affairs. But such a luxury is excluded by the overriding needs of the system - to increase profits, raise productivity, curb industrial and community militancy, etc. The intensification of repression is inevitable as soon as the working class starts fighting back.

Looking at this criticism more closely, we need to ask what kind of repression actually resulted from the AB's practice, and who was affected? The countless raids, arrests, detentions, phonetappings and railroadings in court were almost exclusively directed against the libertarian or unaligned sections of the left (women's lib, claimants' unions, political communes, underground bookshops and the underground press). Has the effect on these areas been counter-productive? The people directly affected are the very ones who have learnt most. There is now a recognition that we are not taking struggle seriously if we are not prepared for surveillance, raids etc. It is perhaps a sad comment, but security-consciousness of the ruthlessness of our rulers and their bloodhounds only comes after reaction has started. But this reaction fortunately doesn't come as a single blow and there are clearly more blows to come. So we can learn today from yesterday's repression how to deal with what undoubtedly will be heavier repression from now on. Organising around courts and prisons is starting to take a concrete shape. We are now much more aware of how to defend ourselves as we fight, now and in the future. There is also developing a two-way process between these sections and people coming up against the law in general. Not just the class-conscious defendant, the political con, but defendants and cons everywhere. The knowledge gained is getting applied to all attempts at class self-organising.

But even if the people involved had not been able to make such use of the repression - if there had been a much more severe attack on the libertarian section of the movement as a result of the bombings, would this in itself be damning for the AB? Is the left never prepared to adopt

a tactic if it entails escalation? (And that tactic needn't be armed - e.g. civil rights at a particular moment in history.) Is it content to remain a purely reactive force, even when the state is on the verge of using its army against its own people? (How many Derrys will it take till...?)

None of these remarks are intended to excuse the AB from some criticism. We are trying to clear the way for criticism made on a realistic, unmechanical basis. The arguments above don't wash because they pose a false set of alternatives; either totally isolated individual terror or revolution as a vanguard party. But it is untrue that people are only revolutionaries if they devote themselves to building a revolutionary party. People getting themselves together, outside the embrace of mass parties, to fight oppression are also revolutionaries. Consistently applied, the orthodox left approach dismisses not only all autonomous rank-and-file action on the part of the working class, but also the efforts of so-called 'marginal' groups like women, blacks, unemployed, gays, to organise and fight around their own specific oppressions. And whether our comrades like it or not, these struggles are in the forefront at present. So we reject the idea that our revolution has to be preceded by a long process of forming a mass party according to a fixed agenda of stages. And we have no time for any vanguard or avant-garde which sees itself as having seen a light which they are duty-bound to bring down to the masses.

THE DEED AND THE SPECTACLE

"These guerrillas are the violent activists of a revolution comprising workers, students, teachers, trade unionists, homosexuals, unemployed and women striving for liberation. They are all angry..."
- Evening Standard editorial ("The red badge of revolution that is creeping across Britain...")

How are the Angry Brigade to be viewed then? Where have they failed, where have they succeeded?

The AB didn't see its bombs as likely to win the class war by themselves. Its actions were exemplary, designed on the one hand to expose the vulnerability of the ruling class, to enter the homes of the rulers and show they have no clothes, and on the other hand to show the possibility of the revolution arming itself.

Nor were the bombs sabotage acts whose validity would lie in destroying something that would be, for example, difficult or impossible to replace. Rather, they were symbolic, and for

symbolism to work it must be clear and intelligible. Here was the main failure of the AB - its propaganda, the way it explains itself. The propaganda can be broken down into three aspects: the act itself (the target, the timing, the type of bomb etc.); the vehicle for distributing written propaganda; and the content of that propaganda.

Only in some cases were the bombings self-explanatory. For example, the choice of Robert Carr's house as a target at a time when there was large-scale opposition to his Industrial Relations Bill. The meaning of some of the other bombings was not so obvious, and consequently could be easily misunderstood or, at best, diluted in its impact by being expressed solely in supportive written propaganda.

The vehicle of distribution they chose for the communiques was, at first, the establishment press, which was of course free to suppress or edit and distort as it chose. In trying to use the press the AB might have gained in number of 'readers' but lost all control over its material,

the long tentacles of the oppressive state machine'); the attacks on other sections of the left too splenetic (i.e., for example, was equated with the C.P. and Robert Carr).

And then there is an undeniable touch of romanticism and fatalism, which distorted their own practice (they weren't in fact individual terrorists) and blinkered their conception of how to build a durable base for organised violence. Collective action was seen in very limited terms - as a series of isolated acts of heroism and self-sacrifice, i.e. things that of their nature can only be exceptional and sporadic. 'We are prepared to die for the revolution', they boasted in one communique; what might have been a realistic confrontation of the dangers reads instead as a fatalistic posturing because it resolves the confrontation by death, not by working out how to survive. Talk of death directly contradicts the AB's - and the libertarian left's - emphasis on realisation of desires as a revolutionary motivation and objective.



if (as in fact happened) the press was directed to suppress news of the bombings, it would obviously also suppress the communiques. Apart from the practicalities, there is something fundamentally wrong in turning to a medium which habitually manipulates to preserve ruling-class interests. (From August 1971 onwards, however, the communiques have been sent to underground papers and radical groups, as an attempt to escape from this contradiction.)

The communiques can also be criticised for their content. Their effect was badly limited by an oblique, didactic, exhortative style. The bravado was too sheer ('we are slowly destroying

BEATING LEGALITY-FETTERISM

"...A moment of terror. Also it flashed through your mind that all those supporters of Ian and Jake and indignant hippies might have a point after all."

-Account in recent I.S. paper Rebel of Special Branch raid on one of 60 addresses after the Aldershot bombing)

The left must urgently revise its attitude towards legality and illegality. Our respect for the law should never be more than a tactical consideration, for to endorse legality in any

other way is to endorse everyday injustice, everyday repression, everyday exploitation (not only in the workplace, but in the U.S. office, the school, the family, etc.) Legality is a question of power and the Rule of Law is the cornerstone of capitalist domination. After all, the law is nothing but a public code defining what the society is and how it is to be run, which is enforced on all, and, where necessary, enforced by the physical power of police, courts and prison. So respect for the law means respect for the present structure of society. Moreover, while the legal code has the backing of police etc, it is obvious that most of the time this apparatus does not have to be called into effect; most of the time it is maintained by people's consent. Consent/respect performs precisely the same function as the police. Hence the phrase 'policeman in the head.' There is no detached, neutral position. But, despite recognition of these facts on a theoretical level, the left suffers in practice from a legality fetish.

They support working-class militants when

their organisation and activities, it only takes a few raids for the pigs to learn all about them.

At the same time as the state whips up hysteria about the need to respect the Rule of Law, it increasingly employs illegalisation of resistance - i.e. thinks up a new law to outlaw previously legal activities - as a technique of class-warfare. Witness the recent moves against the railmen's work-to-rule and the dockers' blacking of containers. It is building up a counterrevolutionary apparatus of repression. It is contracting the legal space at present permitted to resisters. In these circumstances, what faith can the left have in legality, when it sees the state on the one hand hurriedly legalising its own illegalities - the bill on troop-presence in Northern Ireland rushed through Westminster in less than a day - and on the other hand brazenly abusing its own laws dealing with workers' contracts, claimants' benefits, people's rights on arrest, detention, interrogation, etc?

In the face of these attacks, to confine oneself to purely reactive NCCL-style protest can



massive pickets are mounted, but little interest when select numbers of them pass through the courts. They offer no concrete help to the rising number of working-class kids who have no alternative but to live outside the law.

They can openly exhort workers to resist illegally, but stop short of analysing their own organisation in a similar light. When pigs start raiding their homes and offices, they restrict themselves to polite protest through legal channels. They get illegally busted on legal demonstrations, plead guilty and go quietly through the courts. Imprisoned comrades get forgotten. Since they centralise information on

at most only slow down the process. The state seems business, even if the left as a whole doesn't. In respecting legality, they underestimate the apparatus of repression, and consequently cannot respond to repression by organising resistance. To rely on the state continuing to allow us the luxury of legal room to move is naive. It is idiotic to wait for illegalisation to occur as a blow of fate by the system.

This is where the Stoke Newington 6 trial and other political trials come in. What happened to Prescott, what is happening to the Stoke Newington 6, cannot be dismissed as isolated acts of repression against maverick sections of the left.

The large-scale persecution operations which have been going on for the last two years only make sense as an exercise in containment. They are intended as a deterrent against any sort of active resistance undertaken by people on the left, inside or outside left parties. In the process the state is also training and preparing its police and armed forces for struggles that will come if containment fails. The message is plain: left protest is all right so long as it is one step behind. As soon as it takes the initiative, as soon as protest turns into offensive, the left must reckon on the state doing all it can to jail the revolution. (At the end of the Prescott-Purdie trial, Judge Melford Stevenson defined conspiracy for the jury in these terms: 'to cause such disruption of the ordinary agencies of law as to be grievously damaging to the society in which we live.' That crime is committed every single time a militant socialist really starts to put part of what he believes in into action.)

The AL's campaign of bombings is part of an upsurge of militancy in this country. Many may continue to disagree with these particular forms of militancy (bombings) but all of us must consider the general lesson: their experiment has yielded. All those who undertake active resistance and struggle must expect illegalisation. And since the state can define active resistance now it likes, it's crazy to think you're immune. You don't have to look outside this country to find cases in which writing a leaflet is considered a criminal offence. Mike Tomlin is presently serving a two-year sentence in Wakefield Jail for publishing leaflets that might cause disaffection amongst the army.

The straight left has already been labelled a 'virulent minority.' Unless it retreats, it must anticipate that it too will be labelled 'criminal', even 'terrorist'. When the state is set on illegalisation, the left must begin to think about creating conditions for revolutionary struggle outside the legality of the state.



REVOLUTIONARY CRIMINALITY

It is clearly no accident that over 50% of the people now in prison come from the working class. Neither is it just by chance that the vast majority of these come from specific urban ghettos where the tensions of survival inevitably create a situation of continual conflict with the agents of the ruling class.

It is not just that it is in these areas that the oppression of poverty is so great that many have no choice but to turn to crime as a means of economic survival. Neither is it only that criminal activity is a form of psychological release - and an expression of revolt against the experience of meaning and extensive oppression.

Both these are clearly important, but they create a third factor: communities within which the criminal networks are most extensive evolve a way of life which has its own sense of history, its own myths, its own markets for exchange, and its own cultural dynamic which itself is based in continuing conflict with the Law. It has its diversities and complexities, and although it is far more than just a response to prevailing material conditions, it is far too widespread to have any overall coherence and sense of total organisation. It is such more of a diffuse network within which differing small groups of people develop their own specialities and usually stick to them for many years.

Although the criminal fraternity is clearly not a revolutionary force at the moment, this does not mean that it should be rejected as just an apolitical reflection of capitalist society whose experience is irrelevant to the revolution. There are within it possibilities of developing a close relationship with the revolutionary left. These possibilities stem from its basic position within the present set-up; its very existence poses a threat to, and is a denigration of, the ideology of the work (exploitation) ethic and exchange value; it is committed to an ongoing struggle with the Law and its agents, and to maintaining its refusal to play the co-operative game with a ruling class which only survives through the successful propagation of the myth that its objects have no choice but to remain passively obedient.

This is not to say that inside every criminal there lies the soul of a revolutionary. Clearly such gangster businessmen as the Kays and the Richardsons are closer in spirit to the Cabinet and its business associates. But these men are very much exceptions to the rule; they were hated

by the vast majority of 'half-respecting criminals' because they built their empires through the extortion of others' successful pillings and maintained their reign of terror only through close co-operation with 'respectable' tent poppers, politicians and businessmen.

Ignoring the distortion of the outlaw capital for the moment, there are clear political implications in the escalating confrontation between the state and the criminal fraternity. This confrontation has come largely as a result of the state's initiative, because it fears that 'crime' may soon threaten the whole fabric of the system; it has begun to hit out far more heavily at those it considers to be criminals. In the activities of the pigs, in the courts and in the prisons, the confrontation is beginning to take on the dimensions of a war.

The response has been a gathering cohesiveness on the part of those the state is attacking. The consciousness that the police, the courts and the prisons are only corrupt agents of those who have the power, has always been there. What has been lacking until now has been an organised reply. This reply may not come until there has evolved a such closer relationship with the revolutionary left. But with the success of the numerous sit-down strikes which continue to take place in many prisons (all of which have occurred without the guidance of the organised left), it looks as though the 'criminals' are moving towards a consciousness of collective solidarity which, although focussed in the prisons at the moment, may spread back to the streets and give the 'war

against crime' an important political dimension.

It is because of the arrival on the scene of a prison movement, and, on the other side, the arrival from the respectable left of Angry Brigade 'criminals' and the SWP Maoist bank-robbers, that the left must urgently revise its attitude towards criminality. Until very recently its attitude has been distorted by the sweet-sided benevolence of class justice. Smooth-talking middle-class accents have usually meant that the demonstrator and the dopehead (the left's only contact with the Law) have only collected fines, suspended sentences and probation. Borstal, Detention Centre, prison are almost always reserved for the working class people who get captured by the Law.

Times are changing. The politicians and the freaks are now recognised as a 'danger to society' in their own right, and the jail sentences are rolling out. Over the past few years they have tried to work out new ways of living and working together. This has focussed in collectives, which themselves usually reject the work ethic on the basis that if we are conspiring to overthrow the state, we might as well refuse to permit the ruling class to exploit us for half our active lives, and despite the impact of the claimants' unions, the St officers take none too kindly to this refusal, and consequently make it as difficult as possible to extract the pittance which the Warfare State is supposed to provide. The rejection of the work ethic means the acceptance of criminality as a means of survival.



THE RED ARMY FACTION



It's just two years since the RAF declared their existence following the liberation of Andreas Baader from the Institute for Social Research in West Berlin, where he had been allowed to work - under armed guard - while serving a prison sentence for the burning of a store in Frankfurt in 1968, in protest against the Vietnam war. For two years, then, the RAF have survived the largest operation in persecution in post-war German history. The full power of the repressive apparatus has been turned on them - at least 20,000 pigs have been involved in the hunt. Pigs armed with machine pistols, pigs who bear him places by backing down doors with axes, pigs who have murdered three revolutionaries in the last ten months and wounded a number of others, pigs who have set up massive road blocks halting the entire traffic in cities as large as Hamburg, pigs who have raided not just one flat in a block but the entire block. Those revolutionaries who have been captured on the basis of alleged associations with the RAF, have been hammered by the courts, either getting hit with long prison sentences on fitted up charges, or spending periods of over a year and a half in prison awaiting trial. Hoyer Mahler, the revolutionary lawyer who got Baader permission to work in the Institute, was tried last year for his alleged part in the prison liberation and found not guilty; now the state have quashed this judgement and are trying him again on the same charge (it's possible to try someone twice for the same charge under West German law). And this time - in the light of 'new evidence' - it looks like they'll get a conviction. Altogether there are thirty comrades in prison on charges connected with the RAF.

Nevertheless the RED ARMY FRACTION continue to exist. Who are they? It's generally considered that they consist of a hard core of about 10 people, which includes Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, and Gudrun Ensslin (who together with Baader, Thorwald 'frehdi' Proll, and Sohn-

lein burnt down the store in Frankfurt), and an unknown number of others who make up the organisational infrastructure of the RAF by providing false papers, false papers, and propaganda facilities. In reality nobody knows whether this picture of the RAF structure is accurate or not.

The RAF claims its prehistory as the history of the student movement in West Germany, insofar as its militant actions developed historically from the direct militant actions of the SDS. As with other student movements that developed in the sixties, the dynamic of the SDS was its opposition to the war in Vietnam and to West Germany's profit involvement in the exploitation of the Third World, and its critique of the dependence of the education system on monopoly capitalism. "From its critique of ideology the student movement seized almost all branches of state repression as expressions of imperialist exploitation...so it was clear to them and their public that what was always true for the colonialist and imperialist exploitation of Latin America, Africa, and Asia is true here as well: viz: discipline, subordination, brutality for the oppressed and for those who take up their struggle - in their protest, in their resistance, and in their anti-imperialist fight...What their self-consciousness resulted in was not developed class struggles here but the consciousness of being part of an international movement - having to deal with the same class enemy as the Vietcong, with the same paper tiger, with the same pig." (Red Army Faction manifesto.)

But by the late sixties it became clear that the SDS had failed to break out of the university ghettoes, neither succeeding in making any solid links with the organised workers' movement, nor developing militant grass roots organisations in the communities, and at this time doing little more than expressing an intellectual solidarity with the struggles going on in the Third World. It was in this climate of stagnation of activity that the store in Frankfurt was burnt down; at least some

revolutionaries had grasped the necessity to resist by direct action, and to carry out the political offensive against the state. Prior to the burning of the store both Baader and Ensslin had been active in the apprentice and hospital campaign in Frankfurt. Both of them jumped parole, allowed them through the amnesty for political prisoners of 1969, and went underground. Baader was re-arrested in West Berlin at the beginning of 1970. It was during this period that he developed a close relationship with Ulrike Meinhof, an extremely well-known left-wing journalist, who had been working around Eichendorf, a West Berlin hospital for girls. It was with her that he was working at the Institute for Social Research on a book about the hospital situation in West Germany, when, on May 14th 1970, an armed group burst into the library of the Institute and liberated Baader; Ulrike Meinhof jumped out of a window and fled with the group. Immediately after the liberation the group went via East Berlin to Jor-



Casualty in the Springer bombing.

dan, where they spent some months with Al Fatah receiving training in guerrilla warfare. They returned to Germany, carrying out a number of bank raids and organising armed resistance within West Germany and West Berlin.

The ideological framework in which the RAF see their work is marxist-leninist. They see themselves as the armed avant-garde of the anti-imperialist struggle in the West. But, while they assert the necessity of revolutionary intervention of the avant-garde, they do not relate this, on either a theoretical or a practical level, to the necessity of building the good old revolutionary vanguard party, which makes their leninism pretty unique. It follows from their marxist-leninism that they struggle on behalf of others, particularly the oppressed peoples of the Third World. Mao's 'serve the people' principle is crudely simplified in their theory, and is the basis on which they rationalise their practice, whether that practice means direct confrontation

with the West German pigs, or the rejection of criticism coming from sympathetic left groups. If it's not around your own oppression that you organise, if it's in the name of the people or the mass movement that you conceive your work then you tend to justify your actions with a high moral tone, which supports a political elitism which can mislead you into thinking that you, and you alone, are the true revolutionary forces, that self-criticism is unnecessary and that criticism from any other point of view is necessarily hostile and destructive. This is the position that the RAF now find themselves in, and they are effectively isolated from the greater part of the left movement in West Germany and West Berlin. The idea of an avant-garde armed resistance group goes hand-in-hand with the idea of urban guerrilla warfare as a specialised, mystified kind of political activity, which is itself separated from the many different types of direct action which are carried out at the grass roots level. The armed resistance of the RAF is both centralised and spectacular, and this has two very negative effects; their actions don't relate to people's everyday experience and the majority of people look at their struggle with the police as some kind of private feud in which they have no part; since it proved impossible for the members of the RAF to combine legal political work with illegal political work, and since their actions have been supplementary rather than integral to the struggles carried on by other revolutionaries, those comrades who would have liked to help in a more concrete way have been unable to do so. Most of these are working in the solidarity movement which has developed in the face of the massive repression against the RAF and the anarchist and libertarian left.

Nevertheless, the positive things that we can learn from the RAF far outweigh the negative criticisms outlined above. They have firstly demonstrated the necessity for the revolution to take up arms, and to master the technical means that the system appropriates to itself to destroy opposition. They have challenged the armed power of the police so that no policeman in West Germany can think himself safe from attack, and in so doing they have attacked the myth of the omnipotence of the state and its invulnerability. All their actions have been carefully planned and well executed - the liberation of Baader, the various bank robberies, and more recently a number of bombings, of which only the bombings can be seen as symbolic actions. Right now the RAF seem to be in the process of starting a new stage in their offensive, having demonstrated that an armed resistance group can survive everything with which the state attacks it. In the development of its infrastructure over the last two years, it has shown not only that it is necessary to build

an underground which the pigs can't penetrate, but that it is possible. They have exposed the repressive apparatus and the technology and methods that they use, and so exposed the contradiction between the theoretical liberalisation of the law through parliamentary statutes, and the actual strengthening of the repressive state apparatus. The mist of parliamentary liberalism behind which the machine pistols of the police hide has evaporated. While Brandt gave the Nobel Peace Prize for sorting out his treaties with Eastern Europe, Chancellor, his Minister of Internal Affairs, equips his police force with bigger and bigger pistols. Even those left groups which are strongly critical of the RAF, and turn out the standard anti-terrorist arguments from entrenched ideological positions, have no illusions about what they face if their political work should ever become effective. Most people on the left can see clearly enough that the pig activity isn't aimed solely at the RAF, but is both an attempt to intimidate all other sections of the left and a preparatory training exercise, the experience which they will use when their attempts at intimidation fail. This awareness has given the left movement in West Germany a basis for solidarity which doesn't exist here. When Georg von Raabe was shot down in Berlin, wounded and in cold blood, just before Christmas, 7,000 revolutionaries took to the streets the next day. Similarly, when Thomas Weisbecker was murdered in the middle of the street in Augsburg in March this year, demonstrations took place in all major West German cities the following day. The repression has forced a lot of revolutionaries to see that not to attack the legality of the state, means to tacitly accept the power base on which the state depends, and to accept the laws of the ruling class as the definition of the area in which 'revolutionary' activity takes place. The RAF in their organisation of an underground have shown the need for the revolutionary movement

to conquer its own spatial territory as part of the process of expropriation - in this case their illegal actions is complemented by the illegal activity of squats and occupations, as for example the occupation of the disused Betanien hospital in West Berlin, now renamed the Georg von Rauch Haus and used as a youth centre.

In their manifesto the RAF say, "If you don't work out the dialectic of legality and illegality in terms of organisation you will be without protection from the heavy repression that follows off-ensived actions, and you will be legally arrested... If a revolutionary organisation says that it's opposed to illegalisation itself... it implies that the limits that the class state sets the socialist project are sufficient to encompass all possibilities, so you have to stay on the right side of the line, and you have to retreat from the illegal acts of the state as they become legalised - legality at any price. Illegal arrests, terrorist sentences, harassment by the police, blackmail and coercion by the public prosecutors... Legality becomes a fetish when those who insist on it ignore the fact that bosses get tapped legally, post gets legally controlled, neighbours get legally interrogated, colliers get legally paid. The organisation of political work, if it doesn't want to be permanently laid over to the grip of the political police, has to be legal and illegal at the same time... the conditions of legality necessarily change through active resistance, and it is therefore necessary to use legality simultaneously for political struggle and for the organisation of illegality, and it is wrong to wait for illegalisation as a blow of fate by the system, because illegalisation is nothing less than being smashed by the system."

To hang onto legality, and not to see that the relation that revolutionaries have to it should never be more than a tactical one, is to dismiss all idea of resistance. Respect for the law, or rather terror of the law, reinforces the rule of



U.S. Forces Social Club after RAF bomb attack.



Gestern in Wiesbaden: Nach der Explosion ihrer geliehenen Sprengladung im Keller des Landesministeriums wurden die Leichen des Autors und der einzigen Person im Keller vor den Leuten aus der Straßenszene entfernt.

law and the legitimacy of the state to do what it likes. It leaves the state a free hand to define active resistance in its own terms; eventually the simple act of saying "no" will become a criminal offense. Revolutionaries have to learn to live and work outside the law - something which our education and experience has not equipped us to do. We can look at the RAF and learn this - that no sophisticated theory is going to teach us how to survive illegally, no theory is going to teach us whether this is possible or not, no marxist-leninist-chauvinist theory is going to teach us how to resist repression - we'll only learn these things in practice.

Solidarity!

Hoch die Internationale Solidarität!

EXACT EVIDENCE

In The Armed Struggle in Western Europe, published as Nothuch 73 by the Wagenbach publishing collective, and seized a few weeks later by the pigs, the Red Army Fraction collective says: "The resources of the RAF are still limited but they are sufficient to solve the problems of the first stage. The support that the RAF gets is larger than expected - to the anger of the oppressors. The concept of urban guerrilla warfare is therefore realistic. The second stage, the stage of exemplary attacks on the apparatus of repression, will develop out of the first stage. The task of the first stage is to demonstrate through suitable actions that it is possible to build armed groups which resist the state."

After the liberation of Sader, the RAF expropriated a number of banks. They issued no communiques explaining their actions. The money that they got has been used to build their infrastructure, so for good reason they have made no public declaration about this. In the last two years they have got hold of flats and houses throughout West Germany and West Berlin; they have got hold of cars, documents, weapons and explosives. They have been patient. It looks now as if their infrastructure is strong enough to resist penetration by the police. And it's this infrastructure which gives them the autonomy necessary to carry out attacks on the apparatus of repression, it gives them the basis to continue and develop the war against the state. Judging by the events of the last two weeks, they have begun the second stage of guerrilla warfare - what this means for all of us who call ourselves revolutionaries cannot be underestimated: ARMED RESISTANCE IS BOTH POSSIBLE AND NECESSARY IN THE ADVANCED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES.

There have been seven attacks since May 13th, all claimed by the RAF, who now seem to be operating in at least five different commando groups. On May 13th the Officers' Club of the American Army in Frankfurt was bombed, and an American colonel killed. This action was claimed by the Petra Schelm Commandos (Petra Schelm was murdered by the pigs at a roadblock in Hamburg last July); in the communique they say the bomb was a reprisal for American air attacks in Vietnam. On the same day the police headquarters in Augsburg was bombed (Augsburg was where Tommy Weissfecker was murdered), as was the police headquarters in Munich and the Amerika Haus in Hamburg. These were simultaneous attacks on American imperialism and the repressive apparatus in West Germany. On May 15th, the car of Hans Buddenburg, the judge investigating the activities of the RAF, was bombed; his wife, and not him, was seriously injured. On the 13th May the building of the Springer newspapers in Hamburg was bombed, causing thousands of pounds worth of damage and fifteen injuries although a warning was given some time before the explosion. And now an attack on the headquarters of the United States Army in Europe at Heidelberg on May 24th, which killed another colonel and two privates. The state and its pigs seem completely confused and, for the moment at least, powerless to intervene. The head of the Federal Criminal Office even went so far as to book ten minutes of television to appeal to the public to act as detectives against the bombers. The conclusion is that it doesn't look like the Red Army Fraction - whoever they are - can be caught.

ANTI-MASS

collectives as a form of organisation

most pamphlets deal with content & issues, this one is about methods & organisation. don't read it & ask yourself "what are they talking about?" as far as we're concerned the means justify the means.

1: the difference between mass and class

Why is it important to know the difference between mass and class? The chances are there can be no conscious revolutionary practice without making this distinction. We are not playing around with words. Look. We are all living in a mass society. We didn't get that way by accident. The mass is a specific form of social organisation. The reason is clear. Consumption is organised by the corporations. Their products define the mass. The mass is not a cliché - the "masses" - but a routine which dominates your daily life. Understanding the structure of the mass market is the first step toward understanding what happened to the class struggle.

What is the mass? Most people think of the mass in terms of numbers - like a crowded street or a football stadium. But it is actually structure which determines its character. The mass is an aggregate of couples who are separate, detached and anonymous. They live in cities, physically close yet socially apart. Their lives are privatized and depraved. Coca-Cola and loneliness. The social existence of the mass - its rules and regulations, the structuring of its status roles and leadership - are organised through consumption (the mass market). They are all products of a specific social organisation. Ours.

Of course, no one sees themselves as part of the mass. It's always others who are the masses. The trouble is that it is not only the corporations which organise us into the mass. The "movement" itself behaves as a mass and its organisers reproduce the hierarchy of the mass.

Really, how do you fight fire? With water, of course. The same goes for revolution. We don't fight the mass (market) with a mass (movement). We fight mass with class. Our aim should not be to create a mass movement but a class force.

What is a class? A class is a consciously organised social force. For example, the ruling class is conscious and acts collectively to organise not only itself but also the people (mass) that it rules. The corporation is the self-conscious collective power of the ruling class. We are not saying that class relations do not exist in the rest of society. But they remain passive so long as they are shaped simply by objective conditions (i.e. work situations). What is necessary is the active (subjective) participation of the class itself. Class prejudice is not class consciousness. The class is conscious of its social existence because it seeks to organise itself. The mass is unconscious of its social existence because it is organised by Coca-Cola and IBM.

The moral of the story is: the mass is a mass because it is organised as a mass. Don't be fooled by the brand name. Mass is thinking with your ass.
2: primacy of the collective

The small group is the coming together of people who feel the need for collectivity. Its function is often to break out of the mass - specifically from the isolation of daily life and the mass structure of the movement. The problem is that frequently the group cannot create an independent existence and an identity of its own because it continues to define itself negatively, i.e. in opposition. So long as its point of reference lies outside of it, the group's politics tend to be superimposed on it by events and crises.

The small group can be a stage in the development of the collective, if it develops a critique of the frustrations stemming from its external orientation. The formation of a collective begins when

people not only have the same politics but agree on the method of struggle.

Why should the collective be the primary form of organisation? The collective is an alternative to the existing structure of society. Changing social relations is a process rather than a product of revolution. In other words, you make the revolution by actually changing social relations. You must consciously create the contradictions in history.

Concretely, this means: organise yourselves, not somebody else. The collective is the organisational nucleus of a classless society. As a formal organisation it negates all forms of hierarchy. The answer to alienation is to make yourself the subject, not the object, of history.

One of the crucial obstacles to the formation of collectives is the transitional period - when the collective must survive side by side with a disintegrating movement and a mass society. The disintegration of the movement is not an isolated phenomenon but reflects the weakening of the major institutions in American society responsible for our alienation. Many people are demoralised by this process and find it bewildering because they actually depend subconsciously on the continued existence of these institutions. We are witnessing the break-up and transformation of an institution integral to modern society - the mass market. The mass market is a corporate structure which few people are sufficiently aware of to realise how it affects our political life. We really do depend on our "leaders", whether they be the Chicago 7 or 7 Up. Our understanding of the collective form of organisation is based on a crit-

ique of the mass and the dictatorship of the product.

These conditions make it imperative that any people who decide to create a collective know exactly who they are and what they are doing. That is why you must consider your collective as primary. Because, if you don't believe in the legitimacy of this form of organisation, you can't have a practical analysis of what is happening. Don't kid yourself. The struggle for the creation and survival of collectives at this moment of history is going to be very difficult.

The dominant issue will be how collectives can become part of history - how they can become a social force. There is no guarantee and we should promise no easy victories. The uniqueness of developing collectives is their definitive break with all hierarchic forms of organisation and the reconstructing of a classless society.

The thinking of radical organisers is frozen in the concept of a mass movement. This form of struggle, no matter how radical its demands, never threatens the basic structure - the mass itself.

Under these circumstances it takes great effort to imagine new forms of existence. Space must be created before we can think of these things and be able to establish the legitimacy of acting upon them.

The form of a collective is its practice. The collective is opposed to the mass. It contradicts the structure of the mass. The collective is anti-mass.

the form of a collective is its practice

3: size of the collective

The aim of any organisation is to make it as simple as possible, or as McLuhan puts it, "high in participation, low in definition". The tendency is just the opposite. Our reflex is to create administrative structures to deal with political problems.

Most people cannot discuss intelligently the subject of size. There is an unspoken feeling either that the problem should not exist or that it is beneath us to talk about it. Let's get it out into the open. Size is a question of politics and social relations, not administration. Do you wonder why the subject is shunted aside at large meetings? Because it fundamentally challenges the repressive nature of large organisations. Small groups that function as appendages to larger bodies will never really feel like small groups.



The collective should not be bigger than a band - no orchestras or chamber music please. The basic idea is to reproduce the collective, not expand it. The strength of a collective lies in its social organisation, not its numbers. Once you think in terms of recruiting, you might as well join the Army. The difference between expansion and reproduction is the difference between adding and multiplying. The first bases its strength on numbers and the second on relationships between people.

Why should there be a limit to size? Because we are neither supermen nor slaves. Beyond a certain point, the group becomes a meeting and before you know it you have to raise your hand to speak. The collective is a recognition of the practical limits of conversation. This simple fact is the basis for a new social experience.

Relations of inequality can be seen more clearly within a collective and dealt with more effectively. "Whatever the nature of authority in the large organisation, it is inherent in the simple organisational unit" (Chester Barnard, *The Function of the Executive*, 1938). A small group with a "leader" is the nucleus of a class society. Small size restricts the area which any single individual can dominate. This is true both internally and in relation to other groups.

Today, the mode of struggle requires a durable and resilient form of organisation which will enable us to cope both with the attrition of daily life and the likelihood of repression. Unless we can begin to solve problems at this level collectively, we are certainly not fit to create a new society. Contrary to what people are led to think, i.e. united we stand, divided we fall, it will be harder to destroy a multitude of collectives than the largest organisations with centralised control.

Size is a key to security. But its real importance lies in the fact that the collective reproduces new social relations - the advantage being that the process can begin now.

The limitation on size raises a difficult problem. What do you say to someone who asks, "Can I join your collective?" This question is ultimately at the root of much hostility (often unconscious) toward the collective form of organisation. You can't separate size from the collective because it must be small in order to exist. The collective has a right to exclude individuals because it offers them the alternative of starting a new collective, i.e., sharing the responsibility for organisation. This is the basic answer to the question above.

Of course, people will put down the collective as being exclusive. That is not the point. The size of a collective is essentially a limitation on its authority. By contrast, large organisations, while

having open membership, are exclusive in terms of who shapes the politics and actively participates in the structuring of activities. The choice is between joining the mass or creating the class. The revolutionary project is to do it yourself. Remember, Alexandra Kollontai warned in 1920, "The essence of bureaucracy is when some third person decides your fate."

the strength of a collective lies in its social organisation not its numbers

4: contact between collectives

The collective does not communicate with the mass. It makes contact with other collectives. What if other collectives do not exist? Well, then it should talk to itself until they do. Yes. By all means, the collective also communicates with other people, but it never views them as a mass - as a constituency or audience. The collective communicates with individuals in order to encourage self-organisation. It assumes that people are capable of self-organisation and given that alternative they will choose it over mass participation. The collective knows that it takes time to create new forms of organisation. It simply seeks to hasten the dismantling of the mass.



Much of the problem of "communication" these days is that people think they have got to communicate all the time. You find people setting up administrative functions to deal with information flows before they have any idea what they want to say. The collective is not obsessed with "communicating" or "relating" to the movement. What concerns it is the amount of noise - incessant phone calls, form letters, announcements of meetings, etc. - that passes for communication. It is time we gave more thought to what we say and how we say it.

What exactly do we mean by contact? We want to begin by taking the bureaucracy out of communication. The idea is to begin modestly. Contact is a touching on all sides. The essential thing about it is its directness and reliability. Eyeball to eyeball.

Other forms of communication - telephone, letters, documents, etc. - should never be used as substitutes for direct contact. In fact, they should serve primarily to prepare contacts.

Why is it so important to have direct contact? Because it is the simplest form of communication. Moreover, it is physical and involves all the senses - most of all the sense of smell. For this reason it is reliable. It also takes account of the real need for security. Those who talk about repression continue to pass around sheets of paper asking for names, addresses and telephone numbers.

There are already a number of gatherings which appear to involve contact but in reality are grotesque facsimiles. The worst of these and the one most people flock to is the conference. This is a hotel of the mind which turns us all into tourists and spectators. A lower form of existence is the endless meeting - the one that is held every night. Not to mention the committees formed expressly to arrange the meetings.

The basic principle of contact between collectives is: you only meet when you have something to say to each other. This means two things. First, that you have a concrete idea of what it is you want to say. Secondly, that you must prepare it in advance. These principles help to ensure that communication does not become an administrative problem.

The new forms of contact have yet to be created. We can think of two simple examples. A member of one collective can attend the meeting of another collective or there may be a joint meeting of the groups as a whole. The first of these appears to be the most practical, however, the drawback is that not everyone is involved. There are undoubtedly other forms of contact which are likely to develop. The main thing is to invent them.

5: priority of local action

The collective gives priority to local action. It rejects the mass politics of the white nationalists with their national committees, organisers and the superstars. Definitely, the collective is out of the mainstream and what's more it feels no regrets. The aim of a collective is to feel new thoughts and act new ideas - in a word to create its own space. And that, more than any program, is what is intolerable to all the xerox radicals

trying to reproduce their own images.

The collective is the headquarters of the revolution. It makes no pretence whatsoever in regard to the role of vanguard. Expect nothing from them. They are not your leaders. Leave them alone. The collective knows it will be the last to enter the new world.

The doubts people have about local action reveal how dependent they are on the glamour of mass politics. Everyone wants to project themselves on the screen of revolution - as Yippies or White Panthers. Having internalised the mass, they ask themselves questions whose answers seem logical in its context. How can we accomplish anything without mass action? If we don't go to meetings and demonstrations, will we be forgotten? Who will take us seriously if we don't join the rank and file?

Slowly, you realise that you have become a spectator, an object. Your politics take place on a stage and your social relations consist of sitting in an audience or marching in a crowd. The fragmentation of your everyday experience contrasts with the spectacular unity of the mass.

By contrast, the priority of local action is an attempt to unify everyday life and fragment the mass. This level of consciousness is a result of rejecting the laws of mass behaviour based on Leninism and TV ideology. It makes possible an anema of the brain which everyone so desperately needs. You will be relieved to discover that you can create a situation by localising your struggle.

How can we prevent local action from becoming provincial? Whether or not it does so depends on our overall strategy. Provincialism is simply the



consequence of not knowing what is happening. A commune, for example, is provincial because its strategy is based on petty farming and the glorification of the extended family. What they have is astrology, not a strategy.

Local action should be based on the global structure of modern society. There can be no collective action without collectives. But the creation of a collective should not be mistaken for victory nor should it become an end in itself. The great danger the collective faces historically is that of being cut off (or cutting itself off) from the outside world. The issue ultimately will be what action to take and when. Whether collectives become a social force depends on their analysis of history and their course of action.

In fact, the "provinces" today are moving ahead of the centers in political consciousness and motivation. From Minnesota to the Mekong Delta the revolt is gaining coherence. The centers are trying to decipher what is happening, to catch up and contain it. For this purpose they must create centralised forms of organisation - or "co-ordination" as the moderates call it.

The first principle of local action is to de-nationalise your thinking. Take the country out of Salem. Get out of Marlborough country. Become conscious of how your life is managed from the national centers. Lifestyles are roles assigned to give you the illusion of movement while keeping you in your place. "Style is what makes class, and class escapes mass."

Local action gives you the initiative by enabling you to define the situation. That is the practice of knowing you are the subject. Marat says: "The important thing is to pull yourself up by your own hair, to turn yourself inside out and see the whole world with fresh eyes." The collective turns itself inside out and sees reality.

On the dream of unity

The principle of unity is based on the proposition that everyone is a unit (a fragment). Unity means 1 multiplied by itself. We are going to say it straight - in so far as unity has suppressed real political differences - class, race, sexual - it is a form of tyranny. The dream of unity is in reality a nightmare of compromise and suppressed desires. We are unequal and unity perpetuates inequality.

The collective will be subject constantly to pressure from outside groups demanding support in one form or another. Everyone is always in a crisis. Given these circumstances, a group can have the illusion of being permanently mobilised and active without ever having a politics of its

own. Calls for unity channel the political energies of collectives into support politics. So, as a precaution, the collective must take time to work out its own politics and plan of action. Above all, it should try to foresee crisis situations and their "rent-a-crowd" militancy.

You will be accused of factionalism. Don't waste time thinking about this age-old problem. A collective is not a faction. Responding to Pavlov's bell puts you in the position of a salivating dog. There will be no end to your hunger when who you are is determined by someone else.

You will also be accused of elitism. This is a tricky business and should not be dismissed lightly. A collective must first know what is meant by elitism. Instead of wondering whether it refers to leadership or personalities, you should first anchor the issue in a class context. Know where your ideas come from and what their relation is to the dominant ideology. You should ask the same questions about those who make the accusations. What is their class background and class interest? So far many people have reacted defensively to the charge of elitism and, thus, have avoided dealing with the issue head on. That in itself is a class reaction.

The internal is a mirror of the external. The best way to avoid behaving like an elite is to prevent the formation of elitism within the collective itself. Often when charges of elitism are true, they reflect the same class relations internally.

The ways of undermining the autonomy of a collective are many and insidious. The call for unity can no longer be responded to automatically. The time has come to question the motives and effectiveness of such actions - and to feel good (i.e. correct) in doing so. Jargon is pigeon talk and is meant to make us feel stupid and powerless. Because collective action is not organised as a mass, it does not have to rely on the call of unity in order to act.

Does "one divide into two" or "two fuse into one?" This question is a subject of debate in China and now here. This debate is a struggle between two conceptions of the world. One believes in struggle, the other in unity. The two sides have drawn a clear line between them and their arguments are diametrically opposed. Thus, you can see why one divides into two.

free translation from The Red Flag, Peking, September 27, 1964

7: the function of analysis

Not only can there be no revelation without revolutionary theory, there can be no strategy without an analysis. Strategy is knowing ahead of time what you are going to do. This is what analysis makes possible. When you begin, you may not know anything. The purpose of analysis is not to know everything, but to know what you do know and know it good - that is collectively. The heart of thinking analytically is to learn over and over again that the process is as important as the product. Developing an analysis requires new ways of thinking. Without new ways of thinking we are doomed to old ways of acting.

The question of what we are going to do is the hardest to answer and the one that ultimately will determine whether a collective will continue to exist. The difficulty of the question makes analysis all the more necessary. We can no longer afford to be propelled by the crudest forms of advertisement - slogans and rhetoric. The function of analysis is to reveal a plan of action.

Why is there relatively little practical analysis of what is happening today? Some people refuse to analyze anything which they cannot immediately comprehend. Basically they have a feeling of inadequacy. This is partly because they have never had the opportunity to do it before and, therefore, don't know they're capable of it. On the other hand, many activists put down analysis as being "intellectual" - which is more a commentary on their own kind of thinking than anything else. Finally, there are those who feel no need to think and become very uncomfortable when somebody does want to. This often reflects their class disposition. The general constipation of the movement is a product of all these forces.

One reason for this sad state of affairs is that analysis gives so little satisfaction. This is another way of saying that it is not practical. What has happened to all thinking can best be seen in the degeneration of class analysis into stereotyped, obese definitions. There is little difference between the theory-mongers of high abstraction and the sloganeers of crude abstraction. Theory is becoming the dialect of robots, and slogans the

mass production of the mind. But just because ideas have become so mechanical does not mean we should abandon thought.

Most people are not willing to face the fact that they are living in a society that has yet to be explained. Any attempt to probe those areas which are unfamiliar is met with a general hostility or fear. People seem afraid to look at themselves analytically. Part of the problem of not knowing what to do reveals itself in our not knowing who we are. The motivation to look at yourself critically and to explain society comes from the desire to change both. The heart of the problem is that we do not concretely imagine winning, except perhaps by accident.

Analysis is the arming of the brain. We're being stifled by those who tell us analysis is intellectual when in reality it is a tool of the imagination. Just as you can't tolerate intellectualism, so you cannot act from raw anger - not if you want to win. You must teach your stomach how to think and your brain how to feel. Analysis should help us to express anger intelligently. Learning to think, i.e. analysis, is the first step toward conscious activity.

No doubt you feel yourself lightening up because you think it sounds heavy. Really, the problem is that you think much bigger than you act. Be modest. Start with what you already know and want to know more about. Analysis begins with what interests you. Political thinking should be part of everyday life, not a class privilege. To be practical analysis must give you an understanding of what to do and how to do it.

Thinking should help to distinguish between what is important and what is not. It should break down complex forces so that we can understand them. Break everything down. In the process of analyzing something you will discover that there are different ways of acting which were not apparent when you began. This is the pleasure of analysis. To investigate a problem is to begin to solve it.

8: the need for new formats

The need for new formats grows out of the oppressiveness of print. We must learn the techniques of advertisement. They consist of short, clean, non-rhetorical statements. The ad represents a break with the college education and the diarrhoea of words. The ad is a concentrated formula for communication. Its information power has already outmoded the school system. The secret is to gain as much pleasure in creating the form as in expressing the idea.

How do we defend adopting the style of advertising when its function is so oppressive? As a medium we think that it represents a revolutionary mode of production. Rejecting it has resulted in



The short span of attention is one tell-tale symptom of instant politics. The emphasis on responding to crisis seems to contract the span of attention - in fact there is often no time dimension at all. This timelessness is experienced as the syncope of overcommitment. Many people say they will do things without really thinking out carefully whether they have the time to do them. Having time ultimately means defining what you really want to do. Over-commitment is when you want to do everything but end up doing nothing.

The numerous other symptoms of casual politics - lack of preparation, being late, getting bored at difficult moments, etc., are all signs of a political attitude which is destructive to the collective. The important thing is recognizing the existence of these problems and knowing what causes them. They are not personal problems but historically determined attitudes.

Many people confuse the revolt against alienated labor in its specific historical form with work activity itself. This revolt is expressed in an anti-work attitude.

Attitudes toward work are shaped by our relations to production, i.e. class. Class is a product of hierarchic divisions of labor (including forms other than wage labor). There are three basic relations which can produce anti-work attitudes. The working class expresses its anti-work attitude as a rebellion against routinized labor. For the middle class, the anti-work attitude comes out of the ideology of consumer society and revolves around leisure. The stereotype of the "lazy native" or "physically weak woman" is a third anti-work attitude which is applied to those who are excluded from wage labor.

The dream of automation (i.e. no work) reinforces class prejudice. The middle class is the one that has the dream since it seeks to expand its leisure-oriented activities. To the working class, automation means a loss of their job - preoccupation with unemployment which is the opposite of leisure. For the excluded, automation doesn't mean anything because it will not be applied to their forms of work.

The automation of the working class has become the ideology of post-scarcity radicals - from the anarchists at Anarchos to SDS's new working class. Technological change has rescued them from the dilemma of a class analysis they were never able to make. With the elimination of class struggle by automation (the automation of the working class) the radicals have become advocates of leisure society and touristic lifestyles.

This anti-work attitude leads to a utopian outlook and removes us from the realm of history. It prevents the construction of collectivity and

self-activity. The issue of how to transform work into self-activity is central to the elimination of class and the reorganization of society.

Self-activity is the reconstruction of the consciousness (wholeness) of one's individual life activity. The collective is what makes the reconstruction possible because it defines individuality not as a private experience but as a social relation. What is important to see is that work is the creating of conscious activity within the structure of the collective.

One of the best ways to discover and correct anti-work attitudes is through self-criticism. This provides an objective framework which allows people the space to be criticized and be critical. Self-criticism is the opposite of self-consciousness because its aim is not to isolate you but to free repressed abilities. Self-criticism is a method for dealing with piggish behavior and developing consciousness.

To root out the society within us and to redefine our work relations a collective must develop a sense of its own history. One of the hardest things to do is to see the closest relations - those within the collective - in political terms. The tendency is to be sloppy, or what Mao calls "liberal," about relations between friends. Rules can no longer be the framework of discipline. It must be based on political understanding. One of the functions of analysis is that it be applied internally.

Preparation is another part of the process which creates continuity between meetings and insures that our own thinking does not become a part-time activity. It also combats the tendency to talk off the top of one's head and to pick ideas out of the air. Whenever meetings tend to be abstract and random it means the ideas put forward are not connected by thought (i.e. analysis). There is seldom serious investigation behind what is being said.

What does it mean to prepare for a meeting? It means not coming empty-handed or empty-headed. Mao says, "No investigation, no right to speak." Assuming a group has decided what it wants to do, the first step is for everyone to investigate. This means taking the time to actually look into the matter, sort out the relevant materials and be able to make them accessible to everyone in the collective. The motive underlying all preparation should be the construction of a coherent analysis. "We must substitute the sweat of self-criticism for the tears of crocodiles," according to a new Chinese proverb.

10: struggle on many levels

Struggle has many faces. But no two faces look alike. Like the cubists, we must look at things

the stagnation of our minds and a crude romanticism in political culture. Those who turn up their noses at ads think in a language that is decrepit. Using the ad technique transforms the person who does it. It makes writing a pleasure for anyone because it strives for clarity in print.

What we mean by the use of the ad technique is to physically use it. Most of the time we are unconscious of ads and, if we do become conscious, we still don't act upon them - don't subvert them. Ads are based on repetition. If you affect one of them, you affect them all. Know the environment of the ad. The most effective way to subvert an ad is to make the contradiction in it visible. Advertise it. The valueability of ads lies in the possibility of turning them against the exploiters.



Jerry Rubin says you should use the media all the time. At least he goes all the way. This is better than the tea-dipping approach that seems so common these days. Of course, there are groups that say don't use it at all and they don't. They will probably outlast Jerry since the basic technique of mass media is overexposure. That is why Jerry has already written his memoirs. The Situationists say: "The revolt is contained by overexposure. We are given it to contemplate so that we shall forget to participate."

We are not talking about the packaging of politics. Ramparts is the Playboy of the Left. On the other hand, the underground press is pornographic and redundant. Newsreel's projector is running backwards. And why in the era of Cosmopolitas magazine must we suffer the stodgeiness of a Leviathan? We much prefer reading Fortune - the magazine for "the men in charge of change" - for our analysis of capitalism.

There is no getting around it - we need new formats, entirely new formats. Otherwise we will never sharpen our wits. To break out of the spell

of print requires a conscious effort to think a new language. We should no longer be immobilized by other people's words. Don't wait for the news to tell you what's happening. Make your own headlines with Letraset. Cut up your favorite magazine and put it back together again. Cut big words in half and make little words out of them - like ENVIRON MENTAL CRISIS. All you need is a good pair of scissors and rubber cement. Abuse the enemy's images. Make comic strips out of great art. Don't let anything interfere with your pleasure.

Don't read any more books - at least not straight through. As G.B. Kay from Blackpool once said (quoting somebody else), "Reading rots the mind." Pamphlets are so much more fun. Read randomly, write on the margins and go back to comics. You might try the Silver Surfer for a start.

9: self-activity

Bad work habits and sloppy behavior undermine any attempt to construct collectivity. Casual, sloppy behavior means that we don't care deeply about what we are doing or who we are doing it with. This may come as a surprise to a lot of people. The fact remains: we talk revolution but act reactionary at elementary levels.

There are two basic things underlying these unfortunate circumstances: 1) people's idea of how something (like revolution) will happen shapes their work habits; 2) their class background gives them a casual view of politics.

There is no doubt that the Pepsi generation is more politically alive. But this new energy is being channelled by organisers into boring meetings which reproduce the hierarchy of class society. After a while, critical thinking is eroded and people lose their curiosity. Meetings become a routine like everything else in life.

A lot of problems which collective will have can be traced to the work habits acquired in the (mass) movement. People perpetuate the passive roles they have become accustomed to in large meetings. The emphasis on mass participation means that all you have to do is show up. Rarely do people prepare themselves for a meeting, nor do they feel the need to. Often this situation does not become evident precisely because the few people who do work (those who run the meeting) create the illusion of group achievement.

Because people see themselves essentially as objects and not as subjects, political activity is defined as an event outside them and in the future. No one sees themselves making the revolution and, therefore, they don't understand how it will be accomplished.

from many sides. The problem is to find ways of creating space for ourselves. The tendency now is toward a two-sidedness which is embedded in every aspect of our lives. Our language poses questions by making us choose between opposites. The imperialist creates the anti-imperialist. Before "cool" there was hot and cold. "Cool" was the first attempt to break out of the two-sidedness. Two-sidedness always minimizes the dimensions of struggle by narrowly defining the situation. We end up with a one-dimensional view of the enemy and of ourselves.

Learn to be shrewd. Our first impulse is always to define our position. Why do we feel the need to tell them? We create space by not appearing to be what we really are.

Shrewdness is not simply a defensive tactic. The essence of shrewdness is learning to take advantage of the enemy's weaknesses. Otherwise you can never win. The rule is: be honest among yourselves, but deceive the enemy.

The fear of cooptation often leads people to shun the challenge of the corporate liberals. Some of the purest revolutionaries prefer not to think about using the coopter for their own purposes. Too often the mentality of the "job" obscures the potential for subversion.

The existence of corporate liberalism demands that we not be sloppy in our own thinking and response. The strength of its position is that it forces us to acknowledge our own weaknesses - even before we engage in struggle against it. The worst mistake is to pretend that this enemy does not exist.

Urban struggle requires a subversive strategy. Concretely, working "within the system" should become for us a source of money, information and anonymity. This is what Mao means when he says, "Move at night." The routine of daily life is nighttime for the enemy - when they cannot see us. The process of cooptation should become an increasingly disquieting exercise for them.



There are at least three ways of dealing with a situation. You can neutralize, activate or destroy. Neutralize is to create space. Activate is to gain support. Destroy is to win. What's more, it is essential to learn to use all three simultaneously.

Struggle on many levels begins with the activation of all the senses. We must be able to conceive of more than one mode of acting for a given situation. The response, i.e. method of struggle, should contain three elements: 1) a means of survival; 2) a method of exploiting splits within the enemy camp; 3) an underground strategy.

The fundamental tendency of corporate liberalism is to identify with social change while trying to contain it. Wouldn't it be ironic (and even a relief) if we could turn the threat of cooptation into a means of survival?

Exploiting splits within the enemy camp does not mean helping one segment defeat another. The basic aim is to maintain the split. There are significant differences among the oppressors. These have the effect of weakening them. Under certain circumstances these splits may provide a margin of manoeuvrability which may be strategic to us. The main thing is not to view the enemy monolithically. Monolithic thinking condemns you to one way of acting.

There is a tendency to see the most degenerate forms of reaction as the primary enemy. The corporations are consciously pandering to such ideas through films like *Easy Rider* which also attempts to identify with young males. The function of analysis is to break down and specify the different forces within the enemy camp.

The spaces created by these splits are of crucial importance to the preparation of a long range strategy. It will be increasingly difficult to survive with the visibility that we are accustomed to. The lifestyles which declare our opposition are also the ones which make us easy targets. We must not mistake the level of appearances for new cultures. The whole point is not to make a fetish of our lifestyles. In the psychedelic atmosphere of repression, square is cool.

Always keep part of your strategy underground. Just as analysis helps to differentiate the enemy so it should provide you with different levels of attack. Mao says: "Flexibility is a concrete expression of initiative."

Going underground should not mean dropping heroically out of sight. There will be few places to hide in the electronic environment of the future. The most dangerous kind of underground will be one that is like an iceberg. The roles created to replace our identities in everyday life must become the disguise of the underground.

An underground strategy puts the impulse of

confrontation into perspective. We must fight against the planned obsolescence of confrontations

which lock us into the time-span of instant revolution. Going underground means having a long range strategy - something which plans for 1985. The iceberg strategy keeps us cool. It trains us to control our reflexes and to calculate our responses.

The underground strategy is also necessary to maintain autonomy. Autonomy preserves the organisational form of the collective which is critical to the sharpening of its politics. Nothing will be achieved by submerging ourselves in a chaos of revolutionary fronts. The principal strategy of the counterfeit Left will be to smear over the differences with appeals to a class unity that no longer exists. An underground strategy without a revolutionary form of organisation can only emerge as a new class society. To destroy the system of oppression is not enough. We must create the organisation of a free society. When the underground emerges, the collectives will be that society.



The author wishes to point out that the subjects discussed in this article are purely theoretical and have no relationship whatsoever to political intentions within the United Kingdom. There is no intention to incite anybody to commit, or to conspire to commit illegal acts, or legal acts by illegal means.



COUNTER-SUBVERSION

It is impossible to discuss urban guerrilla warfare without considering the attitudes, techniques and abilities of those who seek to contain it.

Urban guerrilla warfare has little or nothing to do with traditional warfare in that, although wars are waged for political reasons, the act of waging war, the military action, is not normally carried through on a political level but on a technical level. Urban guerrilla actions, on the other hand, are intensely political. A guerrilla force operates within a community with the support, active or not, of that community. Any force that attempts to do otherwise is doomed to failure. Every action has to be planned with the considerations of the community in mind, every action is propaganda.

The containment of subversion has a long and interesting history based on the continuing inability of the agents of the status quo to understand the motivation and techniques of the guerrilla. The stock military solution to armed military subversion of the state has been massive repression which results in the subversive elements receiving even greater community support than they previously enjoyed.

Unfortunately for those who employ the techniques of guerrilla warfare, a considerable amount of effort is now being applied in the field of military theory so as to arrive at effective methods of counter-subversion. The latest development has been the focus of attention on the writings of, and the actions directed by, Brigadier Frank Kitson of the British Army. In 1971 he produced a book called 'Low Intensity Operations' which is a statement of his theories of containment. His basis is that armed political subversion of the state in the form of guerrilla warfare is the greatest threat to the security of the state in the future. This is more important than it may seem as in the past neither politicians

nor soldiers were aware of this simple fact. He goes on to suggest that the development of an army (in this case, the British Army) should be towards internal security duties, political policing. Certainly within the British Army Kitson's ideas are very radical as the tradition of this army has been one of non-involvement in politics, a non-awareness of the reasons for its very existence and actions. The response to Kitson's book amongst the Left in Britain has been, characteristically, one of premature paranoia. The most constructive comment that Seven Days could manage was that they 'hoped the bastard rots.'

The school of military thinking that Kitson represents believes that it has practicable methods of dealing with urban guerrillas. These methods have been developed from experience in dealing with rural guerrillas in Kenya (the Mau-Mau) and Malaya (Malay-Chinese communists). In both these situations the motivation of the guerrillas tended to be vague nationalism and this was the main reason for their destruction. The basic individual motivation of the guerrilla is of vital importance. If, as Carlos Marighella, the Brazilian guerrilla leader, said, political analysis comes before military technique, the strength of the guerrilla unit is greatly enhanced. The individual is active because of intense political commitment and not through loyalty to a leadership. Kitson and his exponents cannot understand the resultant decentralism and impenetrability of the guerrilla organisation. The other difference between a rural and an urban situation is that in a rural situation the fire-power of the Army is fairly unlimited whereas in an urban situation it is very restricted owing to the number of non-guerrilla personnel in the area of an action, and the continuous presence of the media.

The new techniques can be simplified into three basic categories. These are:

1) Intelligence. This is really a psychological war against the individual. The urban guerrilla is part of the community and has a 'cover' within the community. Once the individual is identified, he/she is 'on the run' and the resultant sense of insecurity leads to mistakes and death or capture. Information gained from informants or prisoners is the basis, plus collated snippets from observation etc. This is very effective against a centralist organisation but virtually useless against an efficient cell structure where no one individual has enough information to be a danger to the whole organisation or even a significant part of it.

2) Kitson's pet theory of 'pseudo-gangs.' This means soldiers or guerrillas who have been persuaded to change sides operating as counter-terrorist groups. These groups can have several functions. They can attempt to alienate the guerrillas from their support by taking fake actions designed to kill indiscriminately. It is believed that an example of this was the McGurk's Bar bombing in Belfast, where several people were killed by an 'IRA' bomb that the British Army suggested went off accidentally. The local people (in the Catholic New Lodge Road area) are now convinced that the bomb was planted by the British Army SAS. At that time, Brigadier Frank Kitson was commanding the 39th Brigade in action in Northern Ireland. Pseudo-gangs can also operate inconspicuously in areas where normal troops would immediately come under fire. They can be used for liquidation of known guerrillas without the formalities of arrest and the resultant legalities. They can also operate as intelligence sources through observation which it would be impractical for normal Army units to undertake.

3) Superiority. A conventional army is far better trained in the rudiments of battle. It has vastly superior equipment and weaponry. If an urban guerrilla unit can be drawn out into open conflict, it can easily be contained and then destroyed. The army must concern itself with drawing the guerrillas out. An example of this kind of action could possibly be found in the actions of the British Army paratroops in Londonderry before, during and after the now infamous 'Bloody Sunday' events. If this was a deliberate, pre-planned operation then a description of its development would start with the paras hiding in derelict buildings and on their barricades until the civil rights march approached and then as a number of children threw stones at the barricades, the paras were sent in on an 'arrest' operation. Of course the protesters ran away, so the soldiers, many firing from the hip, fired 'aimed' warning shots through the backs of some of the demonstrators; they also shot several 'guamen'

none of whom had guns. At this point enraged IRA men should have opened fire, not realising what they were doing because of the fury from seeing their mothers, sisters, fathers, brothers etc. brutally gunned down. If they had they would have exposed themselves hopelessly and a large number of them would have been captured or shot. As it happened there were no armed guerrillas in the vicinity and the Army and the ex-brigadier who was brought in to impartially investigate the deaths of thirteen people denied that there had been any 'planned' operation at all.

Of these three techniques the only real threat to urban guerrilla groupings comes from the 'pseudo-gangs' concept. The 'superiority' method fails if the self-discipline of the guerrilla is good. Also if an operation of this type fails, the result is a number of deaths which are hard to explain away and an increased hatred for any of the agents of the state, which means additional support for the subversive elements. The pseudo-gang fails when it is exposed through counter-intelligence by the guerrillas, their supporters or sympathetic sections of the media. This is precisely what happened when a number of policemen and militiamen in civilian clothes opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in Mexico City early last year. Some of them were identified by the reporters present and their action, which was intended to confuse the ordinary people and turn them against the left-wing students, failed.

There have been more successful examples of this technique in other Latin American countries, particularly Guatemala.

It can be seen, then, that successful urban guerrilla struggles depend on the politically aware and committed individual, organising in small decentralised cells with good intelligence and propaganda control and a firm, disciplined base within the urban community. Such a force is uncontrollable by any opposition. Kitson's theories consist of two broad tactical concepts. That the urban guerrilla should be fought on guerrilla terms by the use of propaganda and the confusion of counter-terrorism or that the urban guerrilla should be forced into entering into conventional military engagements. The former is logically impossible because the basis of good guerrilla action is to never engage the enemy on equal terms, to always have the advantage, maintained by strong discipline and superior intelligence. The latter relies for its success on bad organisation and poor discipline, a state of affairs that should not arise within a committed struggle.

